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EDITED BY

J. WELLS,

FELLOW AND TUTOR OF WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE.

IT is now more than two years since I agreed with Messrs Methuen & Co. to re-edit "Oxford, its Life and Schools," which was edited by Mr Stedman in 1887. But the important and widely-supported movement for a radical change in the degree system of Oxford, which was set on foot by the President of Corpus, seemed at one time likely to be successful: it was useless to think of publishing anything on Oxford while this uncertainty as to future changes prevailed, and hence the delay in the appearance of the book.

I have spoken of it as a new edition of an old work; it would be more true to call it a new book. Chapters II., III., V., VII., and IX. are entirely new, while chapters IV., VI., and VIII. have been most carefully revised, and considerable additions have been made to them. Unfortunately my friend, Mr Henson, was too busy to spare any time to complete chapter I., and left it entirely in my hands. I have therefore republished it as before (with the correction of two or three obvious misprints), adding, however, some pages to it (pp. 25 to 30) dealing with the history of the present century.

It only remains for me to thank the late editor, Mr Stedman, for courteously consenting to hand over his work to me, and for valuable suggestions, and my contributors

for their respective chapters. While the merit of these belongs entirely to their authors, I fear I must share any blame which the reviewers see fit to bestow upon them, as their chapters have of course passed through my hands.

I hope that the book may be useful to the large and rapidly increasing class of those who are interested in Oxford ; and that it may thereby do something to promote the interests of that Alma Mater, of whom it may be truly said, that to know her is to love her, and that to love her is itself a liberal education.

WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD,
September 1892.

Chapter I.

OXFORD IN THE PAST.

THE Universities formed one of the most characteristic elements of mediæval life. They held an important and peculiar position. Intimately connected with the Church, to which indeed they owed their existence, they were by no means included in the Church's organization; nay, they stood outside it, not always in an attitude of friendliness. The Universities were the main-stays of orthodoxy; they were also the chosen haunts of heresy. Free thought on the most sacred subjects—elsewhere proscribed—flourished among the citizens of these student-republics. The great movement of the eleventh century to which the Universities of Europe owed their origin, is identified with the name of an heresiarch—Abelard. The influence of Oxford, of Paris, and of Prague reached its highest level when their destinies were swayed by heretics—Wycliffe, and Gerson, and Huss, respectively. The case was not far different with the relations between the Universities and the temporal power. They must be reckoned with the municipal corporations, the monastic orders, and the civic leagues as one of the great forces hostile to feudalism. Fiercely democratic in tone, in government republican, they stood in dramatic antithesis to the prevailing social and political system.

If Oxford must yield in point of antiquity to Bologna, and in that of cosmopolitan influence to Paris, yet it may claim to be more truly national than either. Of English

institutions there are few which have entered so deeply into the national life as the University of Oxford. For centuries past it has mirrored that life, alike in greatness and shame, in faith and sin, with unvarying fidelity. To Englishmen, then, the history of the University must always be deeply interesting. If, however, an inquirer demand the time when first that history began, he can obtain no definite answer to his question. The beginnings of the University of Oxford are buried in a profound obscurity. A century ago it was not so. Then—unless ill chance brought a sceptic from the sister University on the scene—the Oxonian could, without fear of contradiction, claim the immortal Alfred as the first "Founder and Benefactor" of his Alma Mater. In these days of enlightenment nobody believes in the "Aluredian fiction," and the exact date at which the University entered on its history must be relegated to the region of things unknown.

It seems fairly certain that the town of Oxford[1] can claim an antiquity of at least a thousand years. The story of Saint Frideswide, though itself a mere legend, and existing in documents of a comparatively late date, seems to embody an historic fact. In the eighth[2] century, it may be fairly believed, a community of nuns established themselves on the site, which in later times has borne the name of Oxford. As for the name itself, it first makes its appearance in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 912.

In the last quarter of the eleventh century (A.D. 1086), there was compiled that famous survey which is known as the Domesday Book. It contains a very careful and detailed account of Oxford, but in that account there is not a single word to indicate the existence of the University. Yet the

[1] "The Early History of Oxford," by J. Parker, chap. iv. (Oxford Hist. Soc. 1885).

[2] Remains of what is probably the original Saxon church have been discovered to the east of the Lady Chapel of the Cathedral by Mr Park Harrison. Some account of these may be read in the Transactions of the Oxford Historical and Architectural Society for 1887 (p. 88, *seq.*).

statements of the Survey are not without interest to the student of academic history, for the Church appears to hold a very prominent position; out of 297 "mansions" of which the owners are recorded, no less than 115 are said to be the property of ecclesiastics. This fact is important, for there can be no doubt that the University owed its origin to the Church.

Around the foundation of Saint Frideswide there gathered a settlement of wooden houses, from which came in after times the historic town. Out of the schools which were attached to the same foundation, there developed by slow degrees the historic University. The exact date when the schools became the University cannot be certainly determined, but there would seem to be good reason for assigning the reign of Henry II. as the period at which the transition was accomplished. It is indeed true that Robert Pullus is said to have lectured on Theology as early as 1133, and Vacarius on the Civil Law, a few years later, but both the one and the other were probably "either mere teachers in the royal court, or private tutors under the Canons of St Frideswide."[1] In the year 1187, however, at the very end of Henry II.'s reign, there is definite evidence that the University was in existence. Giraldus Cambrensis records how he came to Oxford in that year, and read his new work on the "Conquest of Ireland" to mixed audiences of citizens and scholars, whom he entertained sumptuously. In 1187, then, and for some time before, how long is uncertain, there was an University in Oxford.

But what was an University? One of the most distinctive features of the Middle Age was the tendency to association which operated in every sphere of life. The existence of this tendency can be traced in the rise of religious orders, of orders of chivalry, of municipal corporations, of trade-guilds, and craft-guilds, and, also, of universities. An

[1] "Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History," by Bishop Stubbs, p. 141. (Clarendon Press, 1886.)

University, in fact, was precisely a "scholastic guild, whether of masters or students."[1] A degree was a "license to teach;" a formal declaration of competence, and a solemn admission into a society.

The early years of the University were not years of peace. Indeed, throughout the whole mediæval period disturbances were of frequent occurrence. These disturbances were of three kinds, as the scholars directed their enmity against the townsfolk, or against the external powers of Church and king, or against one another.

The scholars were necessarily brought into close contact with the citizens of the town where they dwelt: there were sufficient reasons for rendering that contact the occasion of quarrel. To begin with, there was the great question of rent in all ages of the world a source of ill-feeling, markedly so in mediæval Oxford. It must be remembered that the students were not, so to say, housed by the University in Colleges and Halls, but dwelt in rooms hired from the townsfolk. These latter fleeced the students, who retaliated. Hence heartburnings, reprisals, riots. Then there was the even greater question of jurisdiction. The University, as has been shown, was essentially ecclesiastical. The students were all "clerks," and as such claimed exemption from the ordinary tribunals. This exemption was intolerable to the townspeople, who suspected, not unnaturally, that the riotous student would find more lenient treatment in the Court of the Chancellor than in the Court of the Mayor. This question of jurisdiction, then, was the fruitful source of "town-and-gown" commotions, some of which assumed the most serious dimensions.

In 1208[2] there broke out in Oxford a famous disturbance, which at one time threatened the very existence of its University, and left its mark on the subsequent relations

[1] "English Historical Review," No. iv. p. 644.

[2] This account is taken from Matthew Paris, "Chronica Majora," vol. ii. p. 525, *sq.* (Rolls edition.)

of scholars and citizens. It happened on this wise. A certain clerk accidentally killed a woman and fled. The Mayor and townsfolk found the corpse, and at once instituted an inquiry as to the author of the outrage. They succeeded in discovering his name and residence. It appeared that he occupied a house in conjunction with two companions. Thither the Mayor and his followers proceeded, and when they could not find the guilty clerk, laid hands on his two guiltless comrades and cast them into prison. It so happened, unfortunately for the clerks, that King John then reigned in England, and he was well known to be an enemy of clerks. Indeed, he was reported to have remarked, when he heard of the murder of a priest, "that he had been relieved of an enemy." The townsmen of Oxford, then, were sure to meet with sympathy from King John. In fact, the King ordered the unhappy students to be hanged, which order the townsfolk at once carried into effect. The consternation among the students was immense. "When this deed was done," says the old chronicler, "the masters and their disciples, to the number of 3000 clerks, departed forthwith from Oxford, so that not one out of the whole University remained." The citizens had triumphed for the moment; with victory came repentance. They had veritably "slain the goose which lay the golden eggs." Without the scholars, "the hope of their gains" was gone. They made haste to solicit the return of the exiles. But that was not easy to secure, for the scholars were greatly incensed, and demanded hard terms. Years passed before the final settlement could be arranged.[1] At last, however, the Papal Legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, dictated the terms on which the citizens should be admitted to pardon, and the University return to Oxford. The townsmen who let halls to students were to remit half of the rent for two years; to pay a sum of fifty-two shillings every year to be expended on poor scholars; to feast a hundred poor scholars

[1] "Munimenta Academica," vol. i. p. 1, *sq.* (Rolls Series.)

every year on St Nicholas' Day on bread, beer, "potage," and one dish of fish or flesh; to swear that they would sell provisions to the students at a reasonable price, and to surrender any clerks, whom they might have occasion to arrest, to the Bishop of Lincoln or his deputy. These were hard terms, and they fell with equal severity on guilty and innocent alike. A further condition was added to mark the distinction between them. "Let all those of you," says the Cardinal, "who have confessed and been convicted of hanging the clerks, come at the bidding of Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln, as soon as the interdict is released, with bare feet, without cloaks, and bare-headed, the whole commonalty following you, and take up their bodies and bury them in the cemetery, where the clergy shall appoint." This sentence of the Cardinal may be said to have founded the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, which has ever since been admitted to extend over the members of the University. The Chancellor is said to be nominated by the Bishop of Lincoln, whose immense diocese then stretched from the Humber to the Thames. It is not without significance that Oxford was never during the Middle Ages the seat of a bishop. The bishops of Lincoln took the greatest interest in the University, watching over its interests and guarding its privileges against king, pope, and townspeople with admirable constancy; but they could not at such a distance exercise that dominant influence which was exercised in the parallel instance of Paris, by the bishop of that city. The Chancellor of Oxford was at first like the Chancellor of Paris, the bishop's official. The Chancellor of Paris[1] never became anything else, for the constant presence of the bishop prevented him from becoming, so to say, detached from the see. The University of Paris found its natural head in the Rector. The Chancellor of Oxford—not subject to the influence of a present bishop—identified

[1] For the position of the Chancellor of Paris, see an article by the Rev. H. Rashdall, in the "English Historical Review," No. iv. p. 639, *sq.*

himself increasingly with the University until he came to be, and to be regarded as its natural head: he was in fact in Oxford what the Rector was in Paris.

The contests which the students waged against the townsfolk were not comparable in violence and pertinacity with those which they waged against one another. In the Middle Ages provincial feeling was far more intense than it is to-day. Communications were difficult. The general tendency of mediævalism was towards permanence. That fruitful source of mutual antipathy, mutual ignorance, was integral to the age. North countrymen hated South countrymen, Welshmen detested Englishmen with an enduring hostility. Oxford University drew together to a common centre all the various sections of the nation. From all parts of the country the students flocked thither: bringing with them to their new home their traditional antipathies, their local, personal, and political rivalries. Foreigners, also, were not uncommonly included among the members of the University: though, in this particular, Oxford never seems to have at all approximated to the position of Paris, which formed the intellectual centre of the West. In effect, England throughout the Middle Ages, and indeed, more or less throughout her whole history, has stood very much outside the community of Europe. This isolation, the inevitable result of geography and history, has had great results in many directions, and among them in the direction of her Academic life. Oxford was, perhaps, less cosmopolitan than any other first-class University. Yet even so, the divisions among the students were almost as deep as those which severed into "Nations" the students of Paris. And thus, the organization of Paris was adopted as the model on which to construct the organization of Oxford. The basis of both was the division into Nations. As Paris had its four Nations each represented by its rectors, or proctors, so Oxford had its two Nations, ranged under their respective "proctors." The "Northern Nation" carried on an incessant feud with

the "Southern Nation," in which were included the Welsh and Irish students. The two proctors into whose hands is given the charge of the discipline of the modern University perpetuate the memory of its mediæval contests. These contests were many and serious. Sometimes the royal power had to be invoked before peace could be restored. Perhaps the most critical of these civil wars was that which broke out early in the fourteenth century, and which left permanent traces on the subsequent history of the University.

In the year 1333 there happened a great fight between Northerners and Southerners.[1] In vain the Chancellor exerted himself to restore order. The prisons in the castle were full; the sheriff was at his wits' end to find room for more rioters: and still the disturbance went on. The more studious members of the University were quite unable to pursue their studies, and in despair of ever attaining the tranquillity for which they longed, a number of northern students resolved to depart from Oxford and seek a home elsewhere. The place which they selected was Stamford, already the seat of flourishing conventual schools. At first all went well. The exiles received a warm welcome from the townsfolk of Stamford. Their first act was to address the King; they declared the reason of their conduct. Oxford was no place for scholars by reason of its perpetual commotions. But the University of Oxford had likewise appealed to the King. The representations of the University were strongly supported by Queen Philippa and the Bishop of Lincoln. Edward III. ordered the schismatic students to leave Stamford: an order which was only carried into effect by the employment of positive violence. The University was thoroughly frightened; and we find among the obligations imposed upon Masters of Arts at their inception, a solemn oath never to lecture or read at Stamford.[2] It was the last occasion on which the Univer-

1 "Collectanea" (Oxford Hist. Society), vol. i. part 1.
2 "Munimenta Academica," vol. ii. p. 375. (Rolls Series.)

sity found itself face to face with the danger of dispersion. Already the Colleges were taking a prominent position; the ties of material interest which bound the students to the banks of the Isis were becoming strong enough to resist the strain of any internal disturbances. The University, in fact, was becoming wealthy, and with the Colleges came better order among the students. The great plague of 1347 did not spare Oxford: the number of members is said to have been reduced to one-fifth of what it had formerly been. Then the great struggle with France drew the interest of Englishmen into another channel, and for many years Oxford was in comparative quiet.

In the thirteenth century the students of Oxford were engaged in a famous contest with the Papacy. The origin of this contest is perhaps to be traced to the intense sympathy which existed between the University and the nation. It has always been an honourable characteristic of Oxford that it has thrown itself heart and soul into the great interests which, wisely or madly, have absorbed the attention of the English people. In no period of its history was that characteristic more marked than in the period of the Middle Age.

During the reign of Henry III., the Papacy had a magnificent opportunity of recovering the position in the affections of Englishmen which the rash conduct of Innocent III. had forfeited. The government was virtually in the hands of the Papal Legates. They had good intentions: so far as was possible they were loyal to their trust, but the time was not propitious. The Papacy was entering on its fatal contest with Frederick II. It was indeed a contest

> "Where he that winneth, loseth most; who trophies boasts,
> hath none;
> Where he who dies, the victor's prize, and he alone,
> hath won."[1]

[1] E. A. Freeman. "Original Ballads by Living Authors," published by Joseph Masters, 1850.

That most unhappy contest worked evil to the Papacy in every direction. The need for money to carry on the "Crusade" compelled the popes to fling to the winds all considerations of rectitude, and to strain every effort to make full use of every chance in order to wring money out of the nations of Christendom. Such a chance was given by the devotion of Henry III., and such was the conduct of the legates that throughout England the deepest indignation was felt against the Papacy. This indignation found expression in various ways—in the anti-Papalism of Matthew Paris, and the ballad writers, in the firm resistance to Papal assumptions made by the great Bishop of Lincoln, Grosseteste—in the organized lawlessness of Robert Twenge, and also, and not least important, in the conduct of the students of the University of Oxford. The feelings of the students found expression in 1238, and as is not infrequent, the immediate occasion was sufficiently trivial.[1] The legate, Cardinal Otho, visited Oxford, and took up his residence in Oseney Abbey. Some members of the University took occasion of his visit to address to him certain petitions. Their reception was anything but courteous. The doorkeeper, who happened to be a foreigner, refused them admission. Irritated at the refusal, and strengthened by the accession of many students who came flocking from all parts of the city, they made a determined attack on the door. In the course of the combat, the Legate's chief cook, who happened to be his own brother, poured a cauldron of boiling broth upon the face of an Irish beggar, and was at once shot dead by a Welsh student. The rest made efforts to fire the monastery. This decided the Legate, who, covering himself in his cope, fled into the belfry, and there lay concealed, until help came from Abingdon, where King Henry was residing. Under the escort of the soldiers, whom

[1] Matthew Paris. "Chronica Majora," vol. iii. p. 481. (Rolls Series.) The story is well told by Mr Maxwell Lyte, "History of the University," p. 34.

the King had at once sent to the scene of disorder, the Legate managed to make his escape, but as he rode away he could distinguish amid the din, the ominous words, "Usurer," "Simoniac," "Spoiler," "Money-grubber," and the like. The contest having come to an end, the rioters had to pay the penalty. They were placed under excommunication, and it would have fared ill for the University if the English bishops had not interfered in its behalf, and bluntly told the incensed Cardinal that the root of the mischief was the insolence of his own servants.

The students of Oxford took the deepest interest in the great constitutional struggle of Henry III.'s reign; they seem to have thrown themselves vigorously into the cause of the barons, and by consequence they brought down upon the University the wrath of the King. There is nothing surprising in this. The constitution of the University was eminently adapted to develop a love of freedom, for it was essentially republican. The immense value of this fact can scarcely be over-stated. Feudalism has had many admirers; it is not without attractive features; but at bottom it was a veritable slave system. It tended to shrivel away into a dull tyranny of caste. It was a great thing that there should be in the University of Oxford an emphatic and perpetual protest against this. The University, then as now, was the centre of the higher education of the nation. Thither came the sons of barons as well as the students of humbler birth. Within the charmed circle of the University the servile distinctions of social status faded into insignificance. There liberty reigned, and, as inseparable from true liberty, there merit was supreme. It was in itself a most precious education for the youth of mediæval England that they should during the most impressionable period of life be brought under the influence of free ideas, and be enabled to make practical acquaintance with Liberty. And during the thirteenth century there was a special reason, apart from these general considera-

tions, which tended to make the University of Oxford devoted to the cause of freedom. About the year 1221, the Dominicans, or Preaching Friars, first took up their residence in Oxford; and in 1224 they were followed by the Franciscans, or Mendicant Friars. Both these Orders were in the first energy of their institution. The force that had created them was a burning love for men. That all men are equal before their Maker was a cardinal article of their faith. Wherever they came they infused into the Church a freer spirit, the true spirit of Christian democracy. Their influence was apparent in every direction—in religion, in art, in science, in politics.

Almost at once they took up a prominent position in the Universities, and among them, in Oxford. Perhaps the three most distinguished of English churchmen, certainly the most famous members of the University of Oxford during the thirteenth century, were intimately connected with the Franciscan Order—Robert Grosseteste, Adam de Marsh, and Roger Bacon. The first was through a long life a most constant friend to the University, and the recognized leader of the English Church. Alike against domestic traitors and foreign oppressors, Grosseteste presented a firm front. None of his contemporaries made so permanent an impression upon the national mind. Even after death the belief of Christendom regarded him as the scourge of a too mundane Pontiff; and though he was never formally canonized, the devotion of his countrymen attributed to him all the powers and prerogatives of a canonized saint. Miracles were wrought at his tomb, and his name was invoked in the prayers of the faithful. For centuries after his death his authority was almost absolute in the schools. Adam de Marsh was regarded in his own day as the glory of the University. According to the custom of the time he received the title of the "Illustrious Doctor." Among his personal friends were Grosseteste and the great Earl Simon de Montfort, and

Roger Bacon, whose judgment of contemporaries is not usually too kindly, speaks of him with enthusiasm. In later times the fame of both the Bishop of Lincoln and of the great Oxford Doctor has been surpassed by that of their mutual friend—the friar, Roger Bacon. The wide range of his studies, the extraordinary audacity of his speculations, his indomitable courage in overcoming obstacles before which a meaner man would have given way, his unmerited misfortunes, the long oblivion to which his name was consigned—all combine to invest the "Wonderful Doctor" with a peculiar interest. Without doubt Roger Bacon was the greatest Oxonian of the Middle Age, and yet great Oxonians were then numerous.

If the thirteenth century is distinguished in the annals of Oxford by the glorious trinity of whom mention has been made, the fourteenth century can boast the names of the three great schoolmen—John Duns Scotus, William of Ockham, and John Wycliffe. Of these, the latter is better known as a Church Reformer, "the morning star of the Reformation." The life of Wycliffe brings out very clearly the intensely national character of the University of which he was the chief ornament. In taking up the position of a Church Reformer, he was but giving expression to the wishes and beliefs of the mass of Englishmen. His doctrinal views may have been more or less heretical. They were not thought so important in the fifteenth century as they are, apparently, in the nineteenth. It was as the exponent of the national dislike of the Papacy, as the exponent of the national yearning for greater spirituality in religion, that Wycliffe gained his great position in the minds and hearts of his contemporaries. He has been called "the last of the Schoolmen," and with reason; for after his time the grand succession of "Doctors" ceased. There is a peculiar fitness in the position of the "Evangelic Doctor" as the last of the series. The labours of the Middle Age rendered possible the Renaissance, of which the most fruitful result

was the Reformation. Wycliffe stands midway between the Middle Age and the Reformation. With him ends the greatness of mediæval Oxford. The next age was base, brutal, and sordid: the "darkest hour" which is said to precede the dawn of day. The entire character of the University underwent a transformation.

In European history the fifteenth century is memorable as an age of war: in English history it is the age of Agincourt and the Wars of the Roses. Yet, while it is true that battles and sieges crowd the record of the contemporary writers, it is not less true that the fifteenth century is important in universal history, not as an age of war, but as an epoch of transition. Then began, or, to speak more truly, then became manifest that Revolution, which men have agreed to call the Renaissance, or New Birth. It was so indeed; but it was also, and not less definitely, the Dissolution, or ending of things. The young life of modern times springs into existence. Yes, but it springs out of a grave.

The growing weight of abuses had long crushed to the earth the higher life of individuals and institutions, and paralyzed their energies. Over the face of the West the shadows had been deepening slowly but surely. Yet, before the great faith of the Middle Age expired beneath that insupportable burden, before yet the deep night fell over Europe, there was a brief moment of energy, a convulsive effort, an exertion of despair, to avert the ruin and the gloom.

The fifteenth century opens with a supreme attempt to reform the Church from within. That attempt originated in the Universities; and from the first its strength and its weakness may be deduced from the fact. The University of Paris, in particular, made the greatest exertions to bring to a successful issue this attempt at Reformation. Oxford, it must be admitted, stood aside and played a subordinate part, though representatives from the University sat in the Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1415).

It is no matter for surprise that the English representatives at Constance showed less zeal for the extirpation of heresy than for the Reformation of the Church. They were in some sense under an obligation to justify, or at least explain, the evil prominence of their country in the matter of heresy. The Hussite doctrine had been drawn from the teaching of Wycliffe, and was, indeed, the most interesting and important result of the political connection established between England and Bohemia, during the reign of Richard II. The fathers of Constance recognised in the English Reformer, the first author of the heresy against which they had to contend.[1] They accordingly condemned him as "the leader and chief of the heretics of the time," and pronounced a multitude of propositions extracted from his works to be heretical.

The Wycliffite doctrines had held their ground in Oxford with great pertinacity. The struggle for their suppression had taken the form of a struggle on the part of the Archbishop of Canterbury to assert his authority over the University. The primate was supported by the King, Henry IV.; and in the year 1411 he was victorious alike over heretics and rebels. The writings of the Reformer were proscribed.

In the year 1420, King Henry V.—himself, if we may believe a very well supported tradition, an Oxford man—put forth certain ordinances for the better government of the University. The lawlessness of the students had been very prominent during the years immediately preceding these ordinances, and the University authorities were obviously unable to deal effectually with it.[2] The King now required all students and servants of students to swear, on their first arrival in Oxford, to observe the statutes enacted for the peace of the University. "Also, that all scholars and their servants be under the government of

[1] Creighton, "History of the Papacy," vol. i. p. 340-1.
[2] "Mun. Acad." p. 278-9.

Principals, able and prudent men, lawfully approved and admitted by the Chancellor and Regents, and that on no account they have their chambers in the houses of laymen, under penalty, first, of loss of privileges; secondly, of imprisonment; and, if their contumacy increase, of banishment fitly following on disobedience." There are other regulations tending in the same direction, but this is by far the most important of all. Twelve years later—that is, in 1432[1]—the University supplemented this legislation of Henry V., by enacting "That all scholars of the University dwell in a hall or college of the University, where commons are provided, on pain of imprisonment." Townsfolk, however, were permitted to lodge students by permission of the Chancellor. These statutes may be said to have worked a revolution in the character of the University. Henceforward the monopoly of the Colleges and Halls would be secure for centuries. The University would fade into insignificance before the Colleges. There was both gain and loss in this. It was, doubtless, the means of securing better discipline in the University. After 1432 there was much disorder in Oxford, but nothing that could compare with the great riots of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. But, as seems to be almost invariably the case, order was purchased by a loss of liberty. The contracting process formally begun in 1420, continued until the University of Oxford shrank into a high-class school. Within quite recent times the University has made persistent, and, to some extent, successful efforts to regain its national position; and the tendency of the age is entirely in the direction of expansion.

If in this matter the fifteenth century was the beginning of a long insignificance for the University as distinct from the Colleges, in another matter it was a very famous epoch of academic history. The great buildings of the University —the Divinity School and the public library—then came into existence; and the church of St Mary the Virgin was

[1] "Mun. Acad." p. 320.

rebuilt almost from the foundations. The famous collection of books, which has been named after a later benefactor the Bodleian library, began to be formed in the fifteenth century, through the liberality of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, whose name heads the list of founders and benefactors for whom the University returns thanks to God on certain public occasions.

The University, for the most part, held aloof from the great dynastic struggle. It seems to have adopted the inglorious neutrality which waits the issue of the contest, and applauds the winner. No doubt, as the result of the disorder of the time, the Chancellor now ceased to be a resident academic official, and became, what he has ever since remained, a non-resident, powerful patron. It is well known that the modern Chancellor performs all his duties through the medium of a Vice-Chancellor, appointed by rotation from the Heads of Houses.

The Renaissance necessarily affected Oxford. It was natural that the new zeal for learning which glowed in the hearts of men should draw them to the historic home of learning. Thus the University experienced, not only an internal revolution, which made much obsolete that had been taught, and taught much that was novel and of different tendency, but also the Renaissance drew the University into new prominence, endowed it with great possessions, and secured for it the patronage and effort of great men.

Italy was the centre of the Renaissance. From that country the movement spread gradually over the rest of Europe. To Italy English students found their way in search of the "new learning." Among such students none are more celebrated than Grocyne and Linacre. The first was a Fellow of New College, who went to Italy early in the reign of Henry VII., and studied Greek at Florence. On his return in 1491, he hired a room in Exeter College, and taught Greek to the Oxford students, being the first

Englishman who did so. Linacre, a Fellow of All Souls College, also studied at Florence. On his return to England he taught medicine, and became physician to Henry VIII. These men paved the way for the ardent band of students who are known as the "Oxford Reformers." In 1496, John Colet began his lectures on St Paul's Epistles. Two years later Erasmus came to Oxford to learn Greek. Sir Thomas More, also an Oxonian, became the confidential friend of both. These men believed in the possibility of a Reformation of the Church from within. They, in the sixteenth century, perpetuated the great ambition of Gerson and his followers at Paris in the fifteenth. It was through no fault of their own that failure waited on their effort.

Thomas Wolsey, the great Cardinal Archbishop of York, stands out from the multitude of memorable individuals whose labours have left their mark on Oxford, as at once the greatest and the most unfortunate.

> "He was most princely: ever witness for him
> Those twins of learning, that he rais'd in you,
> Ipswich and Oxford! One of which fell with him,
> Unwilling to outlive the good that did it:
> The other, though unfinished, yet so famous,
> So excellent in art, and still so rising,
> That Christendom shall ever speak his virtue."

Thus the great poet perpetuates, as he alone could, the glories of the Cardinal as a "Founder;" and the witness of Shakespeare may not unreasonably be regarded as more than counterbalancing the unwilling ingratitude of the University. It is not, however, as the true Founder of "Christ Church" that Wolsey most deeply affected the life of sixteenth-century Oxford. In 1523, while yet his influence with the King had not begun to wane, he procured a grant of extensive liberties for the University.[1] "Its clauses were so sweeping that every right possessed by

[1] "Records of the City of Oxford, 1509-1583" (J. Parker, 1880), p. 33.

the town of Oxford was repealed, so far as the University and privileged persons were concerned, and the University was by it empowered to enter into competition with the town, both in trade and government." The comparative quiet which had reigned in Oxford for nearly half a century was at once exchanged for a vehement and protracted struggle. The town found an able champion in the person of the Mayor, Michael Hethe. When the three "Bedylls" summoned him to appear before the Deputy-Commissary of the University in St Mary's, he returned a vigorous answer.[1] "The said Mayor then demanded the messengers what was the cause, and they answered that they could not tell, and then the said Michael Hethe said unto the said messengers, 'Recommend me to your master and show him I am here in this town, the King's Grace's lieutenant, for lack of a better, and I know no cause why I should appear before him; I know him not for my ordinary: if there be any cause between the University and the town, I will be glad to meet him at a place convenient: which was assigned by my lord.'" The courageous Mayor was forthwith excommunicated; and the sentence was ordered to be published in all the parish churches of the town, because when the curate of St Ebbe's (the Mayor's parish church) proceeded to read the sentence,[2] "the said Michael compellid hym to putt of his surplesse, and to departe owt the churche, or ells he wold have bett or myschevyd hym, as he thretenyd the said curate so to doo." Ultimately, however, the Mayor had to sue for absolution, which was granted on very insufficient evidence of penitence. The contest between the Town and the University continued until 1542, when it was referred to arbitrators, whose decision decided the University to petition for the repeal of Wolsey's charter. Even this measure, however, does not seem to have restored peace to Oxford; and for many years the relations between the University and the Town were the reverse of friendly.

[1] "Records of the City of Oxford, 1509-1583," p. 79. [2] *Ibid.* p. 82.

The University comes into contact with the general history of the Reformation when the King demands from it an opinion on the famous Divorce question. It is creditable to the independence of the Renaissance Oxonians that Henry VIII. had to exert himself in order to get what he wanted. The royal letters are an interesting commentary on the whole proceeding. The King requires the University to "accommodate itself to the mere truth as it becometh true subjects to do; assuring it that those who do, shall be esteemed and set forth, and the contrary neglected and little set by." In a second letter he significantly reminds the University that "*non est bonum irritare crabrones*"—"It is not well to irritate hornets;" and in another epistle he practically commands the University to override the opinion of the majority, if it be adverse to the divorce. The trusty members of the University are to "so order and accommodate the fashion, and passing such things as should proceed from that University in this case, as the number of the private suffrages given without reason, prevail not against the heads, rulers, said sage Fathers, to the detriment, hindrance, and inconvenience of the whole." The King's exertions were after all only partially successful; for when the University had with so much difficulty been induced to give an opinion, it was careful to append a condition, which went far to render it useless to the King. And this decision was declared by many to be the act of a minority.

The destruction of the monasteries must have seriously affected the University of Oxford. Itself the creation of monasticism, and in form and spirit deeply permeated with the monastic idea, it could not but be intimately bound up with the fortunes of the English monks. Indeed it seemed at first as if the colleges would follow the monasteries to the same destruction, and the great ruin would include in its operation the Universities themselves. Perhaps the eccentric personality of the great King alone averted so

great a catastrophe. "I tell you, sirs," he replied to the hungry courtiers who would urge him to lay hands on academic endowments, "that I judge no land in England better bestowed than that which is given to our Universities."

The reign of Edward VI. was a period of calamity for the University. The horde of pirates and fanatics which overran England, seizing the reins of government, and bringing the realm almost to destruction, was nowhere more disastrously active than at Oxford. Everywhere the destroyer was set to work. Among the numerous acts of outrage, none was more reckless and lamentable than that which wrecked the reredos of All Souls College. The college historian[1] has related, with astonishing self-suppression, how "every one of its fifty statues and eighty-six statuettes was thrown down, and broken to pieces; while the projecting portions of the structure were chipped away till the whole was left a ruin."

It was not without a certain melancholy fitness that Oxford, in the next reign, was the scene of a great tragedy. The burning of the three bishops—Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer—is certainly the most remarkable event of Mary's reign. The fair, tall cross which modern piety has erected still perpetuates the memory of these Oxford martyrs. In 1557, Cardinal Pole held a visitation of the Universities.[2] It was the last time that a representative of the Papal Power should exercise authority over an English University. The character of the visitation was not without significance. The Cardinal's visitors "went over all the colleges, and burnt all the English bibles, with such other heretical books as could be found. Then they made a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife that lay buried in one of the churches; but she being a foreigner that understood no English, they could not find witnesses that had heard her utter any heretical points; so they gave advertisement

[1] Burrows' "Worthies of All Souls," p. 68.
[2] Burnet's "History of the Reformation," part ii. book 2.

of this to the cardinal, who thereupon writ back, that since it was notoriously known that she had been a nun, and had married contrary to her vow, therefore her body was to be taken up, and buried in a dunghill, as a person dying under excommunication." In this ignoble exhibition of impotent bigotry ended the long connection between the University of Oxford and the Roman Papacy, a termination at once unworthy and characteristic, painful and eminently instructive.

The history of the University under Queen Elizabeth was comparatively uneventful. The long tenure of the Chancellorship by Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, could not be to the advantage of learning. Yet he performed an useful service to the University in 1571, when his influence caused an Act of Parliament to be passed incorporating the "chancellor, masters, and scholars." Thenceforward the continuity of academic life was not threatened by the accession of every new sovereign, from whom confirmation of the charter would have to be secured. Leicester exerted his very considerable powers as Chancellor to establish Puritanism in Oxford, and the energy with which every evidence of independence was noted and suppressed, went far to explain the intellectual insignificance of Elizabethan Oxford. The great Queen twice visited the University, in 1566 and in 1592, and on both occasions showed, with pardonable pride, her rare knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages.

The most important result of Elizabeth's reign was the imposition upon the University of the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Royal Supremacy, subscription to which was required from every student above sixteen years old. "Thenceforth the University of Oxford, once open to all Christendom, was narrowed into an exclusively Church of England institution, and became the favourite arena of Anglican controversy, developing more and more that special character, at once worldly and clerical, which it

shares with Cambridge alone among the Universities of Europe."[1]

The House of Stuart was ever friendly to the Universities; and at no period of its history, perhaps, was Oxford at once so learned, so orderly, and so loyal as under the government of the unfortunate Charles. To the period of Stuart rule are to be ascribed the right of the University to send representatives to sit in parliament, and that great code of statutes known as Laudian or Caroline.

Archbishop Laud held the office of Chancellor from 1630 to 1641; that is, for a period of eleven years. During that time he worked many changes in the government and studies of the University. For more than two centuries his influence was paramount in Oxford; and, on the whole, his influence was good. Oxford rightly regards the name of Laud with gratitude and veneration. The hard times which came so soon upon the University caused his government to wear the aspect of an Age of Gold. Oxford became the head-quarters of the King: for a while it was the centre of a brilliant court. "Wit, learning, and religion joined hand in hand, as in some grotesque and brilliant masque."[2] This brilliance, however, was misleading and transitory. The presence of Charles involved an almost total cessation of study, while his necessities stripped the Colleges of their plate, and converted it into coin.

The defeat of the King brought ruin upon his supporters; and nowhere had loyalty been more conspicuous and unselfish than among the students of Oxford University. It is not surprising, therefore, that the years of Republican government were a time of great misery to the University.

Indeed, a general ejection was, under the circumstances, inevitable, and, as a matter of fact, no less than ten heads of colleges and most of the professors were summarily

[1] Brodrick, "University of Oxford," p. 92.

[2] See the very brilliant picture of Oxford during the King's residence in John Inglesant, ch. ix.

removed from their posts. Successive "Boards of Visitors" tyrannized over the unhappy University. The office of Chancellor was, in 1650, bestowed on Cromwell himself. It is but just to state that the Protector was no enemy to the University as a seat of learning, and, as Chancellor, he presented the University with a collection of manuscripts.

With the Restoration came better times. Oxford again was enthusiastically loyal. Once more the University drew close the ties which bound it to the National Church. In 1681, the last Parliament of Charles II.'s reign was held at Oxford, and came to an end by a dissolution so sudden and unexpected as to be almost dramatic. It was the last Parliament ever held in the University City.

Under James II., the history of the University, perhaps for the last time, becomes a leading element in the history of the nation. The attempt of the infatuated monarch to override the elective rights of an Oxford College, was not the least insignificant factor in his downfall. For the moment, loyalty to the Church triumphed over loyalty to the King, and the University welcomed the Prince of Orange as a National Deliverer. Before long, however, the natural tendency reasserted itself, and Oxford became strongly Jacobite. Indeed, the feelings of the students were so strongly on the side of the Pretender, that the Government deemed it prudent to quarter soldiers in the town during the critical year 1715.

The eighteenth century was a very inglorious epoch of academic history. The unsparing denunciation of the great historian, Gibbon, seems to have been merited. As a national institution, in the true sense of the phrase, the University had practically ceased to exist. One fact, however, redeems the history from insignificance, and reasserts the ancient importance of Oxford. That fact is the Wesleyan movement. Whitfield and the Wesleys were all Oxford men: the religious revolution of which they were the leaders had its origin in Oxford; and rightly, for the traditions of Oxford

were the traditions of an academic Iona. In the fourteenth century, the poor preachers of Wycliffe had gone forth from Oxford to work through the country. In the sixteenth century, the followers of Erasmus had from Oxford called men to the unnatural toils of unselfish reformation. And in the eighteenth it is once more from Oxford that a new Church movement makes its influence felt through the length and breadth of the land

The nineteenth century presents in every way a contrast to its predecessor; instead of stagnation we have constant change, instead of apathy an almost feverish activity, while Oxford has passed from comparative obscurity into being one of the centres of English life. This transformation is connected especially with three causes—the introduction of the present system of examinations, the "Oxford movement," and the interference of Parliament by the Act of 1854 and the Commission of 1877, which have between them revolutionised the University. The arrangements of the "pious founders" of the Colleges have largely disappeared, the Laudian statutes have disappeared too, and almost unknown to itself the present generation has been living through the greatest changes which Oxford has seen in its long career.

The examination system begins with the century, and since 1805 has been conducted on the principle which still controls our examinations, *i.e.*, names are arranged alphabetically in the class lists, instead of, as was at first done, and as has been the rule at Cambridge, in order of merit.

In the same year a separate honour school of mathematics was established along side that of Literae Humaniores. Down to the middle of the century these two schools had the field to themselves, and it was in them that Oxford men gained the training and the reputation which has made an Oxford "first-class" to be still a coveted mark of distinction. But about 1850 the whole system was modified; two other final schools were established in law and

modern history, and in natural science, while a "first public examination," now familiarly known as "Mods," was introduced in the middle of a man's course.

Since then other new honour subjects have been introduced, the range of pass subjects has been increased, and teaching directly for the "schools" has been developed. The result is that the Oxford examination statutes are a study in themselves from their complexity, while the interest taken in the results of the examinations is well shown by the fact that the most magnificent and characteristic building of modern Oxford is the new examination schools in the High Street. Whatever other results the examination system has had, it has at anyrate greatly increased the average amount of work done in Oxford.

The movement which produced the examination system was part of the great Liberal movement which began so powerfully to affect all English life at the beginning of the century: but in Oxford its influence was even more important indirectly than directly. It was the alarm caused by the rapid changes which had taken place, and which were threatened in Church and State, that led to the "Oxford Movement" properly so called, the starting-point of which may well be considered to have been Mr Keble's sermon before the University on "National Apostasy," delivered at St Mary's in 1833. Not that the Oxford movement was a merely negative one; had it been so, it would never have influenced English life as it has done; its strength lay in its reassertion of the Catholic character of the Church of England. It would of course be out of place and impossible to discuss its merits or its results here; but it has affected the life of the University profoundly: Oxford, thanks to the influence of the Tractarians, and still more to that of Dr Pusey, has become once more a sort of sacred city to the Anglican Church, towards which, from all parts of the English-speaking world, those who value highly tradition and antiquity naturally look as to a centre

of light and leading. It is mainly in this wider interest that the difference lies between the "High and Dry" theology of the last century and its modern development: the latter, like the former, is academic in origin; but it is full of activity and zeal, affecting every part of English life, and uniting it in common interests and common aims.

It is, however, since the middle of the century that the greatest changes have taken place in Oxford; and these are especially connected with outside interference. The Royal Commission of Inquiry of 1850 marks the real beginning of modern Oxford; down to that time the original statutes of the founders had on the whole remained in force in the colleges, though they had been modified in certain places: Oriel, for instance, had thrown open its fellowships to the whole University, with the result that during the first half of the century, that college attracted to itself a considerable number of the most distinguished men in Oxford; and Balliol had introduced the same policy as to its scholarships, thus making them the much-coveted "blue ribbon" of a school career. But now changes were carried out uniformly through the whole University; the most important of them were the following—

(1.) The clerical restriction was relaxed in a certain number of cases for fellows and tutors, though it continued to be the more frequent rule that Holy Orders was a necessary condition for holding these posts. Assent to the liturgy, too, was still required from all candidates for the M.A. degree.

(2.) Much more important was the removal of the conditions under which the scholarships and fellowships had been tenable. The majority of these previously were confined to certain localities. In future all were thrown open to competition.[1] It may be noted in passing that this, though an improvement on the whole, has not been without

[1] It should be added that this removal of restrictions produced much less difference in the standard of competition than might have been expected.

its disadvantages. Under the old system of restricted competition the local candidate not unfrequently was a poor man, who thus obtained his chance: under the system of open competition everything tends to fall to those whose position has already enabled them to get a good education at school.

(3.) The government of the University was altered. Hitherto the Hebdomadal Board, to which all power of initiation belonged, had been composed of the heads of Colleges: henceforth, besides the Vice-Chancellor and Proctors who sat *ex officio*, it was to consist of eighteen elected members, taken in equal proportion from the heads of colleges, the professors, and the whole body of graduates.

(4.) The congregation of the University, consisting of all resident doctors and masters, became a vigorous body, with full powers to discuss and to amend the proposals submitted to it by the Hebdomadal Council. Before this time Convocation was confined to the use of Latin in its debates, and could only accept or reject proposals, without the power to modify them.

Along with the changes of the Commission another influence was at work, to which, perhaps, more than to any other cause, the transformation of Oxford is indirectly due—direct railway communication was opened between Oxford and London in 1844, and since that time Oxford has become more and more a "residential" place. The new quarter of villas which lies to the north of Oxford was begun about 1860, and with it Oxford society has taken a new form.

It was as giving expression to this that the changes of the last Commission are perhaps most important. These, to put them as shortly as possible, were—

(1.) It abolished the requirement of holy orders for all college posts (with the exception of one or two special ones, which exist in most of the colleges).

(2.) It permitted the marriage of fellows and tutors. This innovation had been introduced in one or two instances

before: now it became the rule, though the conditions vary from college to college.

(3.) Fellowships, instead of being all alike held for life, became of two kinds. Those engaged in tuition received official fellowships, tenable for ten years, and admitting of re-election. Hence the position of tutor has become, as a rule, a permanent one, instead of being held (as was often the case before) only as a stepping-stone to work elsewhere in some definite profession. On the other hand, those who do not wish to take part in college work are elected for seven years only, but during this tenure of office they are practically free from all obligations to the college, can reside or not as they please, and devote themselves to whatever profession they choose.

(4.) An attempt was made, by founding new professorships and readerships,[1] mainly out of the college funds, to make the teaching of the University less collegiate in character. It is as yet too early to say how this will work, but at present, it must be added, very little effect seems to have been produced.

Between the times of the two commissions all the old foundations of the University (*i.e.*, all the colleges but Hertford and Keble) were thrown open to Nonconformists by Mr Gladstone's Universities' Tests Act of 1871.

Side by side with these official changes imposed on her from outside, the University has developed within. There has been an almost complete disappearance of the "donnishness" which once marked the relations of tutors to pupils. The innovations which Mr Hughes describes in "Tom Brown at Oxford," as being introduced at "St Ambrose" by the reforming Fellow, Hardy, are now everywhere the rule; the old schoolboy jealousy of those in authority is gone, and freedom of intercourse between teachers and taught is based on the sure basis of common interest in all sides of college life. Women's Halls have

[1] This change had been partially introduced by the Act of 1854.

been started, and their inmates permitted to share our examinations and lectures. Students have been admitted not belonging to any college; the old rule of three years' necessary residence in college rooms has been done away with, with the result of a great increase of disproportion in size among colleges. University discipline has been relaxed; the schoolboy punishments of old days have been discontinued, and men appear in the streets in a dress which is almost as far removed from decency as it is from the stiff primness of their grandsires. These changes are especially seen in relation to the athletic movement, which is so marked a feature in our own time, and in which Oxford has taken so great a part.

The growth of colleges and the new modes of life have found their outward expression in such an increase of buildings as Oxford has never witnessed during any previous period of similar length; within the last twenty years more than half the colleges have definitely added to their fabrics, even though mere restorations or repairs are not included in the calculation.

Without, as within, there has been change and expansion; whether these are judged to be for the better or for the worse will depend on the temper and taste of him who gives the judgment. This certainly may be said, that in spite of mistakes, the University to-day has recovered the position which it lost at the beginning of the eighteenth century; so far, at least, as was possible under the changed conditions. Oxford can never be national in quite the same way as the mediæval University; for it is no longer the sole centre of the higher education of the nation. New Universities have come into existence; provincial colleges satisfy many wants which in the ancient days could only be satisfied at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. These have, and always will have, an honourable precedence over all rivals. This, at least, their long and, on the whole, creditable history will secure to them. Oxford, it

may be permitted to believe, will still, in the centuries to come, be able to inspire to high deeds of self-sacrifice and brave endeavour. The spirit which lit the flame of effort in Grosseteste and Wycliffe, in More and Wesley, which in our own day has been to the Church a regenerating force, and to the nation the call to the higher life—that spirit will remain to Oxford its peculiar and historic possession.

H. H. H.
and J. W.

Chapter II.

OXFORD IN THE PRESENT.

THE last chapter has described the history of the University of Oxford in the past; the object of this one is to describe the University as it at present exists, the special features in which it differs from other institutions bearing the same name, its method of government, the work it is doing, and the general character of its results. The various departments of University life and teaching will be dealt with afterwards, but there are a number of common features which must almost be taken for granted in the special chapters, and which may well be stated separately. I am conscious that such a chapter as this must almost necessarily be a failure. To Oxford men its statements will seem too obvious to be worth putting down, and too general to be accurate, while to those who have not been at Oxford it must often seem obscure. But it is not written for the former class, and, for the latter, I hope it may be of some use in spite of its shortness. I cannot help thinking that the number of those who, without belonging to the University, wish to know something about it as it is at present, is a large one.

The characteristic feature of Oxford as a University is clearly reflected in its outward appearance. The visitor is shown the buildings of college after college, the Bodleian Library, the Schools, but when he asks, "Where is the University?" there is nothing to show him. University buildings there are for special purposes, but no central one to which the name itself can be applied. And this is the

exact expression of the real facts of the case. An Oxford man is a member of some body, which forms part of the University: he cannot belong to the University without belonging to such a body, and it is because he is a member of this smaller body that he is a member of the University. Each of these smaller corporations or colleges is independent; it is governed by its own fellows, who fill up vacancies in their number by co-optation, and elect their own head, and it owns and manages its corporate property. It exacts what conditions of entrance it pleases from its members; after admitting them, it presents them to the University, which accepts them without further question: but on the whole, the colleges are very similar in their rules and management, and there is much less variety of position among the members of the different institutions than the above statements might be taken to imply.

The University, however, is more than the mere sum of its parts; it has its own special apparatus for teaching, its libraries, its museums to which all its members are admitted. If I may illustrate by a familiar comparison, I should say that Oxford is a federal republic of colleges: as every citizen of the United States is a citizen of some special state, so every Oxford man is a member of some college; and the Bodleian Library of Oxford and the University Chest[1] may be compared with the institutions of Washington, which are not the property of any one state, but common to the members of all the states.

It may be objected that in the above I have taken no account of the non-collegiate students—*i.e.*, those who belong to no college; but during the twenty years since such students were admitted to the University, they have tended more and more to approximate to the position of a

[1] This name for the Treasury dates from the earliest times. No doubt originally the sums at the disposal of the University were kept locked up as safely as possible; and a curious old painted chest is still kept in the University offices, though its duty has long been transferred to a banking account.

college, and that is what they really are at the present time, though without special buildings for residence.

It is to the paramount influence of the colleges that the main features of the peculiar development of Oxford [1] as a University may be traced. These institutions of course were found in other places, and have still survived in some, both in Scotland—*e.g.*, at St Andrews—and on the Continent at Louvain; but the English Universities are peculiar in the fact that in them the influence of the colleges became all-important: this is largely the case still, although to a much less extent owing to the changes of the last half century. Hence the importance attached to "residence" in the English Universities: no man can proceed to his B.A. degree till he has resided twelve terms (*i.e.*, three years), and this residence is certified by the head of the institution to which he belongs. In addition to this he has of course to pass the public examinations of the University; but success in these is of no avail unless he has "resided." This is the cause of the lack of hospitality on the part of English Universities which is complained of by foreign graduates: terms spent at Cambridge or Dublin may be counted towards the Oxford degree, for these Universities also are collegiate; but the most distinguished graduate of Harvard or Berlin has to satisfy the same requirements of residence as the youngest freshman just up from school. This inhospitality may well be deplored, but its cause must be frankly recognised.

To the same cause is due in part the importance of examinations at Oxford. In Scotland, on the Continent of Europe, and in America, the University itself is the teaching body, and has its professors in all the various faculties. Hence a student's attendance at lectures is con-

[1] What is said of Oxford as contrasted with other places, of course applies to Cambridge also. The two Universities, however they may differ in minor matters, have developed along the same lines, and the growth of each has been largely influenced by conscious imitation of the other.

sidered side by side with his examinations, and he can only proceed to his degree after obtaining certificates of such attendance on a certain number of courses of lectures. In Oxford there is none of this; so far as his degree is concerned, a man need not have attended a single lecture. The result of this arrangement naturally is that the strain of the examinations, especially of the final ones, is much increased.

But, as was said above, the collegiate system is no longer so all-powerful in Oxford as it was. It is within the memory of living men, and these only middle-aged, that all the teaching of a student was done within the walls of his own college: the result was naturally a great waste of labour, in the needless multiplication of lectures. Now all the colleges combine for their public (Honour) teaching, and an undergraduate of one is admitted to the lectures of all. This system has grown up gradually, and is not yet properly organised; for every college still arranges its lectures largely to suit its own staff of teachers or the needs of its students; but the list published terminally of the lectures given at all colleges marks a great step towards economy of labour, and in its development lies one of the best prospects for good work being done by the teaching staff of Oxford.

In another respect also, the old system of teaching has been very much altered. It was obviously impossible that Natural Science, with the expensive plant and laboratories which it requires, could be taught successfully in twenty different places at once: hence from the very first introduction of the subject at Oxford, now nearly fifty years ago, its teaching has been in the hands of university officials.[1] The same is very largely true of the Law School, and to some extent of that of Theology.

It still remains the fact, however, that it is in his college that a man's university life centres: within its walls he

[1] It may be noted in passing that this is probably one of the chief reasons why Science has made so little way in Oxford.

receives much of his public teaching, and all the individual tuition which, in the way of essays, papers, and oral instruction, is even more important. With it are connected his social and athletic ties, and to it the majority of his friends, as a rule, belong. Hence it is to his college that a man's thoughts especially go back when he has left the University.

But it is not with the life of the individual so much as with Oxford as a whole, that we have here to do; and hence it is of the University, not of the separate colleges, that we must now speak more in detail. Within its province falls the regulation of a student's studies and his examinations, and it is with regard to these questions, and such as these, that a University comes especially before public notice. It may be well to begin by describing its method of government. In theory this rests ultimately with all the M.A.s who have kept their names on the books:[1] no change can be made in its arrangements till it has been submitted to them. They are divided into two bodies; Congregation—*i.e.*, all those residing in Oxford, and Convocation—*i.e.*, the whole number of graduates, resident or non-resident. To each of these bodies a proposed change is submitted; and, as might be expected, the non-resident element is often less desirous of change than the resident, and sometimes overrides the wishes of the latter. But this can hardly be found fault with, if it is remembered that the University of Oxford is much more than a mere teaching body. It is one of the institutions of England, and its work is social and religious as well as educational. But a still greater obstacle to change in Oxford lies in another part of its constitution. It is in

[1] It is a great pity that this restriction exists. The result of it is that from a half to two-thirds of the graduates of Oxford lose all formal connection with their Alma Mater. The system of London, or of the American Universities, is much preferable, by which the name of a graduate remains on the books, without money payment at all. But, as will be seen later, there seem insuperable financial difficulties in allowing this privilege at Oxford.

some respects an intellectual oligarchy ; and its government may be said to be vested in the Hebdomadal Council. This consists of eighteen elected and three official members, and without the consent of a majority of it no new measure can be even discussed officially: since two-thirds at least of it must be selected from the heads of houses and professors—*i.e.*, from graduates, in all probability, of some considerable age, and so somewhat conservative in feeling, and since a seat in Council is held for six years, it is some time before any movement for change in Oxford can sufficiently assert itself to come within the range of possibility.

The Executive of the University which is thus governed, is formed by the Vice-Chancellor and the two Proctors ; the powers of these officials are so important, that a word must be said as to them. The former office is held in rotation for periods of four years by the heads of colleges ; the latter is elected to by the colleges annually. But the real importance of the proctorship, as the University Executive, is obscured by the fact that its holders are also the disciplinary officers of the University, and as such have control of the streets, and are charged with the suppression of disturbances. It is in this capacity that they especially come before the public, both inside and outside the University, and form the centre of a large class of the stories which Oxford is never weary of telling and hearing.

Although most of the invidious marks of superiority, which were the traces left of the long struggle between University and city, have been swept away during this century, yet the former is still a privileged corporation, of which the members can claim to be tried, and actually are tried, before their own courts, while its chief officer is also a magistrate, and is vested with special powers for the maintenance of order and discipline in the city—*e.g.*, no public entertainment can be held without his consent. The retention of these powers and privileges is of course much attacked by the enemies of the University : into the rights

and wrongs of the case it would be out of place to enter here; but it is admitted that the practical working of the present system is open to little objection, and that the streets of Oxford will favourably compare in order and decency with those of most towns. Such a result may fairly be claimed as justifying the retention even of an anomaly.

It would be impossible and useless to go into detail as to the machinery by which the educational work of Oxford is controlled. It is sufficient to say that, subject always to the control of the bodies before mentioned, the regulation of subjects of study and the appointment of examiners is vested directly or indirectly in the members of the various teaching faculties;[1] these in their turn are appointed by the various colleges, except the Professors and Readers, who owe their position in most cases to small boards of nominators.

Before speaking, however, of the work done by the University which is thus organised and constituted, it is necessary to dwell shortly upon a misconception which is most prevalent. The University of Oxford is frequently spoken of as the wealthiest educational body in the world; yet it is shown by the last published accounts (those of 1891) that the net income of the University (as distinguished from the Colleges) from estates and investments, including those belonging to trust funds, and appropriated for special purposes, is less than £20,000 a year. The remaining income of £40,000 (speaking roughly) which is shown in the University accounts, is derived in part from the profits of the University press (£5000), in part from the statuteable contributions of the colleges, but mainly (about £30,000) from the contributions of its members. Every undergraduate pays £2 a year (for his first four years only), and every graduate £1 as long as his name remains on the University books: from this source,

[1] It is hardly necessary to add that a faculty consists of the authorised teachers of a given subject.

along with the degree fees, the University derives some £20,000 a year,[1] and is thus enabled to maintain the Bodleian and other libraries, the various museums, and the teaching staff of the University. As the demands of modern education increase every year, it seems impossible for the University to lower its charges; it is compelled to make its members supplement by their payments its funded revenue, which is altogether insufficient for the enormous burdens laid upon it. It need hardly be added that Oxford and Cambridge receive no aid at all from government —in this respect also forming a marked contrast to the Universities of Scotland and the Continent.

Turning now to the work which is done by the corporation, of which the government and organisation has been briefly described, it is natural to speak first of its work in educating its own students, and conferring degrees upon them. Nearly eight hundred students enter the University of Oxford every year, and of these about eighty per cent. proceed to the B.A. degree; the remaining twenty per cent. may be divided between students entering for some special study only, and those who fail to pass their examinations and leave the University prematurely. These examinations are of two kinds, "pass" and "honours." The subjects in both are of the same kind, but the amount offered and the methods of work are very different: it may be said generally, that in a pass degree the University requires only to be satisfied that a man has studied to some extent those subjects which form a necessary part of a liberal education, while from its honour students it asks for proof of considerable advance in some one department of these—an advance which it tests and classifies. Of the six hundred who graduate every year, nearly three-fourths are honour men, and it is by these the University on its educational side

[1] These figures are of course given in round numbers. The more important of the items which make up the remainder are the fees for matriculation and for the various examinations.

must be judged: the pass men form a not unimportant element, and of their effect on University life and its effect on them, something will be said later; but, speaking generally, the training they receive is rather that of a school than of a University. Of the honour men, not more than half at the most have taken their degree in Classics, the remaining being divided between Modern History, Theology, Natural Science, and the other "schools"[1] which the University recognises. All of these have general characteristics in common: their aim is rather to make the student thoroughly familiar with the best that has been written on his subject, and so to train his mind in the widest sense, than to make him a specialist in any one department of it, or to familiarise him with the methods of original work. In history, for example, a student is taught to balance the evidence for opposing views, and he has to read the great authorities with care and intelligence, but it is not at all required of him that he should know how to read a MS., or to decipher an inscription, or to go back along any one of the numerous ways by which printed history is reached. Whether our method is a wise one or not cannot be decided here; the Oxford defence is that when a man's mind has been properly trained, he can afterwards devote himself to special work: the answer of her critics is that while he undoubtedly can do so, he as undoubtedly does not, and that so far from the ordinary Oxford student knowing anything of the methods of original work, even the Oxford tutor is as a rule a stranger to them, for he has neither time nor inclination to make himself familiar with subjects which he is not required to teach.

[1] No word is more frequently heard in Oxford than the "schools." Undoubtedly its original meaning was the actual buildings in which disputations were held by the candidates for a degree: it has now been transferred to the various courses of study marked out by the University, each of which is called a "school." And hence comes its popular meaning of "examinations;" a man is "in for his schools" when his knowledge of one of these courses of study is being tested by examiners.

One thing, however, is certain, viz.—that most Oxford men will agree that their system of examinations is too perfect. The subjects are well chosen and excellent in themselves, perhaps as well chosen as they can be; but their limits are so well known that the lecturers, to far too great an extent, enable their pupils to dispense with reading for themselves, while matters which are outside these limits are greatly neglected, as "not likely to pay in the schools." There is no doubt that the discontent with the present system is widespread: it showed itself last year (in 1891) in a strongly supported movement to shorten the course (of reading for a B.A. degree) to three years, with a view to allowing greater freedom of study to graduate students afterwards. Though this failed at the moment, and though it is possible a change may be effected in some less radical way, yet a man need not be very bold to prophesy that some changes of importance will soon come. It is perhaps on the professors that the present system presses most hardly. They are appointed with us, as in all Universities, for good work done in the past; but in other Universities they are themselves the teaching faculty, can control the subjects taught, and therefore can secure audiences: in Oxford, however, their position is quite different, for they find that the subjects which men wish to learn are taught by the college tutors, while if they, in their lectures, leave these beaten lines, they find they have no pupils. Hence there is an unnatural separation at Oxford between those who should be advancing the knowledge of their subject and those who are learning it.

The general remarks which I have ventured on as to the effect of the Oxford system are probably too unfavourable. It is difficult to be altogether just to a system which is so familiar; we know its faults from experience; its merits we take for granted as if they were common to other systems of teaching—an assumption which some experience of other Universities makes me very much doubt. Whatever the

faults of an Oxford training are for the best men, it is exceedingly good for the second-rate ones, who are well taught the best and latest views on the most important subjects. And if the best men are not trained to be original workers and thinkers, yet some (and those an increasing number) become so of themselves afterwards; and if these latter are few, the fault lies largely in the whole tone of English society, which has a fondness for what is practical rather than for knowledge for its own sake; in fact, if Oxford and Cambridge turned out a large number of "researchers" yearly, it is difficult to see where they would all find places in English life as at present organised.

It is an interesting and very important question, What becomes of the six hundred or more graduates whom the University turns out yearly? It is certainly one which presents itself more and more every year to the men who are leaving, at the end of their course, and to those charged with teaching work in Oxford. There are of course always some who remain in the University as fellows and tutors, while others have positions in English life which they inherit. But the bulk of the new graduates go away from Oxford to earn their living, and it must be confessed the ways which are open to them are much fewer than could be desired. The Civil Service examinations provide for a few, and it is likely these will be much more numerous under the new regulations in the Indian Civil Service; but some even of these find it advisable to go to a "crammer," in order to ensure success in their examinations. Journalism becomes the occupation of a considerable number of graduates, and those often among the ablest: it is said that the natural result of the Oxford honour course is to fit a man to write a good leading article; whether this is so or not, it undoubtedly is the fact that many of our best leading articles come daily and weekly from the pens of Oxford men.

But it is especially into the great professions that

Oxford men pass; the army, it is true, does not absorb many, though under the new regulations (by which the successful University candidates for a commission are exempted from a year at Sandhurst) it is to be hoped that an increasing number of officers may be University men. The majority of our graduates find their work in the Church, in Law, or in Teaching. It is calculated that rather more than 200 Oxford men a year take orders;[1] and it may certainly be asserted that the English Church is happy in her tradition of training her ministers at the old Universities, where the narrowness of the seminary is avoided, and where yet, in spite of all recent changes, the feeling is still a prevalent one, that "true religion and sound learning" are the complements of, and not antagonistic to, each other. A large share of the prizes of the Bar, again, have been enjoyed by Oxford and Cambridge men, and a man who has prospects in that great profession can well qualify himself for taking advantage of them by residence and graduation. An increasing number of solicitors, too, pass through the University every year, especially as they are exempted by the B.A. degree from two years of the five ordinarily required in an office, and hold often a better position in their profession if they are University men. But the largest number of young graduates drift off into the scholastic profession, which is certainly not a very promising one to the man of only ordinary ability. So great is the number of those entering it that the level of salaries has fallen nearly fifty per cent. in the last twenty years, and a first-class man will now welcome a post which a pass man would not long ago have hesitated to accept. It is true that most men seem to settle down in the end comfortably, but the process of

[1] This estimate is based on the analysis of the Ordination lists which is published from time to time in the *Guardian* by the Rev. H. T. Armfield. I have only taken the figures of the last two years (1890-91). It further appears from Mr Armfield's calculations that between 50 and 60 per cent. of the clergy are Oxford or Cambridge men, and that of these more than 98 per cent. are now graduates.

settling takes longer every year. It is a great pity that Oxford graduates who care for teaching have not yet made up their minds to enter the field of elementary education. This is practically unlimited for good men; and though less attractive than that of secondary schools, yet it offers at once a livelihood and an opportunity of doing such work as England most of all needs.

One thing more should, perhaps, be added. Charming as Oxford is, and happy as she makes her sons, it is doubtful whether more men do not take their degree here than is really desirable. The market for University graduates is limited; and if a man has no vocation for orders, and no special prospects in, or liking for, any profession, he had better not come to Oxford on the chance of "something turning up." What does turn up for the ordinary man without capital is a poorly paid mastership; and though teaching is delightful to those who choose it, it is often a misery to those who are forced into it. In fact, it may perhaps be said that Oxford is trading on her old reputation. Thirty years ago the University was only about half its present size, and the proportion of wealth and ability in it was much larger: hence its graduates, as a rule, did well, and patriotically put down as the result of their University training, what was only indirectly and partially due to it.

It will be noticed that nothing has been said of any connection between Oxford and the great commercial and manufacturing classes in England. Unfortunately, such connection is very rare. Occasionally you may find among England's captains of industry, one who has been at the University, and he will be proud of, and will have profited by, his connection; but, as a rule, the wealthy manufacturer does not send his son to Oxford unless he intends to "make a gentleman of him." It is most unfortunate that the University has the reputation of unfitting a man for the pursuits of practical life; but it is deserved at least in part. And in any case it is hard to see how, in the present

struggle for commercial supremacy, a man can spare from his business, three of the best years of his life. Yet Oxford undoubtedly has much to teach which it would do the merchants and manufacturers good to learn: patriotism and public spirit, respect for merit apart from wealth, love for the beautiful and the true for their own sakes—these, and such qualities as these, are the results which Oxford men claim as the results which their Alma Mater produces by her life and her training. It is not too much to say that many others beside her own sons have felt that to reside in Oxford was itself a liberal education: the combination of the old and the new, the perfection of the beauty of nature and of art, make her unsurpassed (perhaps even unrivalled) among the cities of the world. It is only when they have left her, or at rare moments in the busy time of University life, that men realise how much the beauty around them has entered into them and become part of themselves.[1] It may not be a dream that, as the development of Oxford proceeds, even the busy man of wealth may spare his son for a year of college life, though he cannot afford either to make him a scholar or to allow him to lose three years before entering business. For, however much Oxford men may see the faults of their University, there is no doubt that they believe in it as a place of education, and wish as many as possible to share in its benefits. The object of a large amount of the recent legislation here has been to remove the obstacles in the way of entrance, and only within the last year a statute has been passed to enable elementary schoolmasters to obtain their training at the University.

And we may be pardoned if we have this full belief in the educating powers of Oxford wherever they can be possibly enjoyed; not only have we our own experience of what she has been to us, but every year the University is ceasing

[1] Perhaps nowhere so much as in Oxford can the truth of the famous passage in Plato's Republic (Book III. p. 401) be realised, as to the part played by beauty in education.

more and more to be the close corporation of scholars, trained on somewhat narrow lines, which it was thirty years ago, and is becoming an important factor in all the educational movements of the country. The higher education of women has found its special home in the older Universities; and though Cambridge has taken the lead here, and has done the work on a larger scale, Oxford has two most successful women's Halls, and an increasing number of women students. It is a significant tribute to Oxford, that two of the great Nonconformist bodies have transferred their theological colleges to it, in order to train their future ministers in connection with the old University. In the same way the Indian Institute has been founded to draw closer the ties between England and her empire in the East, and Oxford has been for the last ten years one of the leading centres for the training of Indian Civil servants.

And away from Oxford the work of the University has increased to a marvellous degree. By the Local Examinations, instituted in 1857, the secondary schools of England have had their standard raised, and their work systematised: whatever the faults of these examinations, they have no doubt been most useful in exposing inefficient schools, and in guiding those that wished to be efficient. And a similar work has been done, so far as it was needed, for the higher grade schools, by the examination for certificates given by the Oxford and Cambridge joint board. Every year the examining work of the country is done by hundreds of University men, working under the control of the central delegates; and the results which are attained abroad by a Minister of Education and his department are largely obtained in England by the voluntary action of the Universities and the local educational bodies. Our system may lack the thoroughness and completeness of continental organisation; but it has a freedom and a capacity for development which are characteristically English, and which are wanting to the best organised machine.

And within the last ten years, the work of the University Extension movement has still further enlarged the sphere of University influence. There are now tens of thousands of students, up and down the country, who look on Oxford or Cambridge as their University, and many of them have not only studied under the guidance of Oxford teachers, but resided in Oxford during the summer gatherings. Whatever be the shortcomings of the University Extension movement (and those who have most to do with it, know these best), it no doubt means a great amount of enthusiastic work and of real affection for the old Universities as the centres of that work.

So far I have spoken only of the work of the University in its highest sense. But in some respects this might be said to be only a part of its influence in England. Certainly when Oxford men look back to the days of their residence, their memories turn to very many places beside the lecture-room. In experience of men, in training of character, in the formation of friendships, the University helps her sons; and it is in this width of life which Oxford embraces that is found the real answer to those who would wish the University to impose a fixed standard on all desiring to be admitted, and by a matriculation examination to bar the way against candidates who cannot attain to that standard. It is certain that such a step would keep some at least from entering who are well qualified both to benefit by and to benefit the society in which they mix. And though the Oxford pass man does not reach a high standard of examination work, yet he is frequently a man of real intellectual interests outside his "schools," and receives from the University a training which qualifies him to "serve God in Church and State."

And here a word must be said on those athletics which are so prominent a feature in Oxford life, and by which in some ways the University is best known; for there is no doubt that the fame of a great football team like Vassall's,

of a cricketer like Rashleigh, of a runner like Pollock-Hill, or of a jumper like Fry, extends far more widely than the fame of any other Oxford men. It no doubt is irrational that it should be so; but Oxford is nothing if it is not a reflection of English life; and while all classes in England unite in their devotion to sports, it is not unnatural that an Oxford man should pride himself on the fact that his University's "blue" is a certificate of merit, which is recognised all over the English-speaking world. And all would admit that the powerful influence of the English Universities has done in the past,[1] and should in the future do, much to overcome that tendency to professionalism and pot-hunting, which is the bane of all athletics. Of course athleticism is sometimes carried to an absurd extent; but it certainly is one of the influences which keep University life pure and healthy; and on the moral side, it trains just those qualities which a governing race needs—readiness either to govern or to be governed, quickness in meeting emergencies, and courage in things small and great alike, to hold on against odds, and do the best possible.

Oxford and Cambridge, in short, have a very distinct place of their own in English life. It is true they are not, as the Scotch Universities at any rate used to be, connected with every circle and family of the country. In Scotland it is usual for religious ministers of all denominations, and for school-masters of every grade, to have a degree: hence the large number of students at the Scotch Universities, and the sacrifices made by the poorer classes to give their sons a college education, which may be a passport to success in life; but in England the Universities have not this hold of the professions, nor as yet has the system of elementary education worked long enough, or been sufficiently developed to bring the poorer classes into connection with the Universities to any great extent. It is only in a

[1] The foundation of the Amateur Athletic Association in 1880 was largely a University movement.

few places that a graduated system of scholarships has been introduced, by which the most successful pupils in the elementary schools can pass to those of higher grade, and from them to the University, maintaining themselves all the time without cost to their parents. This method of utilising old endowments has been carefully worked out in a few places, especially at Birmingham, which in this, as in so many respects, takes a lead among English municipalities. Its drawbacks are obvious, especially that of encouraging undue and premature competition, but its merits, if it be properly worked, ought to far outweigh these defects. It is, however, still too early to speak with confidence, as the new schemes have not yet been sufficiently tried.

Nor, again, are Oxford and Cambridge, like the Universities of the Continent, great government institutions, controlled by the State, furnished by it with abundant materials for the advancement of learning and research, and used by it for the training of its servants and of all the professional classes. When we contrast the number receiving University education in Scotland or in Germany with those at Oxford and Cambridge, it is only fair to remember that the field for University graduates is far wider out of England; and when the teaching staff of the older English Universities is reproached with its lack of literary productiveness, it should be added that we have in England none of that stimulus to original work which is supplied abroad by the fact that only through it can a man there attract notice and gain promotion; and while it is possible for a University to publish too little, it is also possible for it to publish too much. Oxford and Cambridge may perhaps claim that the energy which elsewhere goes entirely to the advancement of knowledge is with them largely diverted to the training of character. The Oxford tutor devotes to his men hours which the teacher elsewhere devotes to his studies. It is this personal intercourse of teacher and taught which is the most marked feature of English University education; we

may be forgiven if we prize it highly, for others beside ourselves have praised it and pointed out its peculiar effectiveness as a means of training.

The faults of the English Universities have been mainly due to the fact that they reflected only too faithfully the aristocratic organisation of society in England. They have given their best to a few, but they have not reached the many. It remains for them now to do their old work under the changed conditions of democratic England. It may be hard to effect this, yet it can certainly be done, not by desperate efforts to copy other countries, but by carefully observing and developing all that is best in their own system; and that best is inextricably connected with the colleges and college life. These institutions have played their part in various ways in six centuries of English life; they are as vigorous as ever, though their forms may have changed in part; and those who believe in them may be excused if they prefer old and tried methods to experiments which begin with destruction and end in the unknown.

In the previous editions of this book, a chapter was devoted to a careful analysis of the conditions of entrance expenses, &c., at each College. There has been no attempt to repeat this, still less to advise as to the choice of a College. This latter point is all-important to those coming to the University, but can only be decided by consulting those who are actually living in Oxford; for it is they alone who can give even a partially accurate account of the present position and character of each College, as this varies from generation to generation, and even from year to year. When a future undergraduate has chosen his College, he can at once obtain all information as to it, and the method of entrance, by writing to the Head or to the Senior Tutor.

J. W.

Chapter III.

EXPENSES OF OXFORD LIFE.

"WHAT does it cost to live at Oxford?" is a question which Oxford men are frequently asked to answer. Their replies are most various, for, to a great extent, the question does not admit of a definite answer: the scale of expenditure varies according to a man's circle and tastes. Hence it must be at once made clear that any estimates given in this chapter are only approximate.

Oxford expenses may be divided into official and non-official: under the former are included all an undergraduate's payments to the College to which he belongs—for room rent, tuition, food, dues, &c.; under the latter come his expenses for clothes, amusements, tobacco, travelling, and other things which a man living by himself finds necessary, or thinks that he finds necessary. With regard to these latter no estimate need be given; they depend on the man himself, and vary indefinitely. It may, however, be stated generally, that they are much the same as those of young men in similar positions of life elsewhere. Prices in Oxford do not vary much from what they are in other places, though they tend to be a little higher; and if a man will pay ready money, or at the end of each term, he can obtain the advantages of cash prices; for here, as elsewhere, the old system of long credits and correspondingly high charges is going out, although too many tradesmen still retain it.

With regard to the official charges in College, these, too, of course, are a somewhat uncertain quantity: one man is always entertaining friends, another likes to live himself

as well as the College system allows; a third is careful, and has a small appetite. But, after seven years' experience as a Bursar, I think the following rough calculations are approximately correct. There are a few men who can manage to live under £80 a year, but they are very few. A greater number will keep their "battels" (as all payments to the College are called) under £90 a year, and a still larger number will average between £90 and £100. Probably about half the College will be under the latter figure. The majority of the rest will be under £110, while there will be individual cases from £120 to £130, and as high as £150.[1]

On the whole, it may fairly be said that a man who wishes to live like other people, but is willing to be careful, may be at College for about £160 a year,[2] out of which sum he can pay for his clothes, travelling, &c., and find himself in pocket money. But this, of course, implies that he has a home at which to spend his vacations, while no allowance is made for travelling in vacation. This amount can be decreased by great care, without much sacrifice of comfort, to £150, or even lower; but it cannot be too much insisted on that these lower estimates involve either sacrifice of those pursuits and modes of life which are the rule in Oxford, or greater care than can fairly be expected from the ordinary man.

The initial expenses of University life are rather heavy; most Colleges charge an entrance fee of £5, while, as a measure of security, they ask, under the name of "caution money," for a deposit, which is practically a payment of the

[1] These amounts include all the payments described above as "official," including rent for furniture owned by the College, but they do not include washing, groceries, or any kind of subscription. From comparison with other Colleges, I believe my own to be rather below the average in expenditure; but in ordinary cases the increase would not be very great.

[2] A bursar of great experience at another College considers this estimate rather high, and would consider £150 nearer the mark, for a man who is careful, but who yet conforms to the general standard of College life.

term's "battels" in advance. This usually is £30, and is returned to a man in part when he ceases to reside, and wholly when his name is removed from the books. In addition to this there is the University matriculation fee of £2. 10s., making in all a necessary payment of £37. 10s. Besides this, a certain amount of expenditure is involved on an undergraduate in the setting up of his small establishment—for crockery and glass, ironware, bath, &c. These must be purchased in most[1] Colleges, while, as a rule, there is in addition a heavy payment for furniture (varying from £20 to £60, according to the size and condition of the rooms), which is paid on a valuation to the out-going tenant. The system, however, of the College owning the furniture, and charging rent for its use, is coming more and more into vogue: its disadvantage is that it fails to make any distinction between careful and careless use of furniture in ordinary cases, and that in the end it is rather more expensive; its advantages are, that it not only saves the heavy initial expenditure, but gives a man a better furnished room, obviates the discontent which is continually caused by disappointing valuations, when a man leaves his rooms, and does not encourage men to incur debts with the expectation of being able to pay them out of the money which they will receive for their furniture.

Among the expenses of an Oxford life, other than the College "battels," one or two must be mentioned specially. The University charges fees for all its examinations, which, if a man does not allow himself the luxury of being "ploughed," average £2 a year; with these may be mentioned the degree fees, which are £7. 10s. for the B.A., and £12 for the M.A. The College also charges fees for these ceremonies, but on a scale (as a rule) much lower. Again, the various clubs and societies, which play so prominent a part in the life of Oxford, will in most cases absorb from £5 to

[1] Trinity College has introduced the great improvement of providing these with the rest of the furniture. It is a pity this is not done usually.

£10 a year. The annual subscription to the Union Society is £3. 15s. (for three years); but joining this society is not now so universal as it once was: a man, however, will find it well worth his while to be a member, even though the junior common room of his college in part supplies the place of the more general society. The athletic clubs are now (I believe), in the case of every College, united under common management, and the subscription is usually paid in the "battel" bill; but special arrangements are made to enable a poor man to pay on a smaller scale if necessary. The subscription to these varies a good deal with the size of the College, as, of course, the larger Colleges need to raise less in proportion from each of their members. These clubs, at least, a man must join, if he is to enjoy to the full the benefit of Oxford life.

A word or two must be said as to certain Oxford institutions where the scale of charges is less. At Keble a man pays a fixed sum of £27 a term as payment in advance for all his College charges—a payment which is "caution money" under another name. This arrangement, however, is less a saving than it would at first appear, for all entertaining is extra (whereas it falls under the head of ordinary expenditure in other Colleges), and there are also other extras; and certainly a man loses a good deal in the way of experience, if he continues to live in the University on a system of common life, which is much the same as that of a sixth form at school. The Non-Collegiate Students' Delegacy, again, publishes an estimate, by which it appears that with them a man can meet all his charges for board, lodging, education, &c. (in fact, the charges that appear in College "battels"), for about £50 a year. No doubt this can be done, but it would involve in most cases living entirely outside the ordinary life of the University; and that the system is not altogether satisfactory is shown by the fact that about 50 per cent. of the men who matriculate as non-collegiate students have migrated in past years to Colleges. It should be added that the percentage tends to diminish.

In fact, it must be confessed, and Oxford men do confess it with sorrow, that a College education is an expensive thing. In spite of the fact that the Tuition[1] fees are low (very low as compared to those of the Colleges in London), and that the Tutors and Professors are largely paid out of endowments, Oxford is emphatically a place for the well-to-do, or those who by their brains have provided themselves with scholarships and exhibitions.

The full reasons for this are rather hard to see, but some suggestions may be made. We may set aside at once the belief, which is more or less current with every generation in Oxford, that the men are taxed for the benefit of the dons. This may be so at one or two Colleges, though I very much doubt it; but the annually published accounts show that the establishments barely pay their expenses, and certainly yield no considerable profits. Probably the most important cause of the dearness of Oxford is that we maintain throughout the year servants, plant, &c., which are only used for half the year; this, of course, makes the item of wages altogether out of proportion to the turn-over of the establishment. And the fact that our demand is for half the year only, prevents us going to the wholesale sources of supply, and compels us to deal with the middleman.

Again, the whole tradition of the place is against economy. Men expect to get the best of every thing (not unreasonably, considering the prices they pay), and a reforming bursar is not likely to have public opinion on his side. And this tradition is not ours alone; the world in general expects Oxford to entertain it, on the smallest introduction; and whatever the faults of the University, I do not think we disappoint expectations in this respect.

[1] In comparing the expense of Oxford with other Universities, it ought to be remembered that special coaching is less the rule in Oxford than elsewhere. It may fairly be said that a man of ordinary ability and industry gets all the help he requires from his College, and it is exceptional for Honour men to coach. Pass men do it more, but rather because they neglect the help provided by College than because it is insufficient.

As Mr Andrew Lang has well said, "'Stranger' in Oxford means not enemy but guest."

But it is the system of separate establishments which is the main cause of expense. Every man has his own servant, whom he shares with some seven or eight others. Now, the Oxford servants, as a whole, are an excellent body; but they only act on long-established tradition in claiming as their own perquisites the remains of every meal: hence it follows that a man pays in his "battels" for more food than he ever consumes.

At the same time, while the English Universities are dear compared to those of Scotland or Germany, the cost of an Oxford education can hardly be called high, judged by the standard of what is usually paid for education in England. At many of the large public schools it costs quite as much to keep a boy as it costs to live at the University, while the latter gives far more in return for the expenditure; and Oxford and Cambridge are cheap compared to the great crammers' establishments in London and elsewhere.

It cannot be said, I think, that the expense of College life at present is diminishing. Certainly in some respects a man has to spend less than once was the case; so well are the College libraries kept up, and so available for use are they made that a man's book bill is now much less than it used to be (whether this is an unmixed advantage may well be doubted; men now are far too ready to do without books which they should buy, and rely on their lectures, supplemented by a little reading in their College library), and the Oxford tradesmen complain that men spend less on really expensive articles than used to be the case. But College life has become more comfortable, like life in England generally, and small luxuries are now looked on as necessaries, which would have made the Mr Bouncers, who were Verdant Green's contemporaries, open their eyes with astonishment.

Oxford expenses have increased, are increasing, and ought to be diminished. At the same time, though reform is necessary, it is to be hoped it will be carried out with due regard to existing traditions. Oxford life now produces results which are costly, but which seem to be coveted, and which, we think, are rightly coveted. It is well to pause before introducing changes which may create the desired improvement, but which certainly would transform the whole character of University life.

J. W.

Chapter IV.

THE INTELLECTUAL LIFE.

IN treating of the intellectual life, it is impossible wholly to avoid discussing the social life at the same time. The two words are by no means opposed, and, in Oxford life especially, nothing perhaps is more pleasant than the intermixture of the two; and thus, although the quiet and uneventful tenor of a man's undergraduate days rarely supplies the materials for a story, yet there is a great charm in reading the College life of our greatest men: for instance, the rambles of Macaulay and his companions round Cambridge, or how Tennyson revisited the rooms where his loved and lost friend dwelt, and remembered how once they held debate there. And although there be nothing intellectual about a row on the river, or a wine party, yet joining in such amusements need not argue a distaste for higher pursuits. When Tennyson, in the passage just referred to, finds in his friend's old rooms—

> "The noise
> Of songs and clapping hands, and boys
> That crashed the glass and beat the floor,"

we may feel the pathos of the situation, but we need not infer that College life has sunk to a lower level since his time. The same boys, who were probably rejoicing at the success of their College boat (for, be it remembered, it was during the races, a time of licensed Saturnalia, that the poet revisited his College, and that it was most likely a bump-supper, if that be the proper Cambridge name, which he disturbed), might meet again the next day for

more intellectual converse. There are certainly many in Oxford who hold that "rowing and reading" is a good realisation of the Greek "music and gymnastic," and many Colleges, which point with triumph to the number of their first-class men who have rowed "in the eight." In the rooms of many a man of high mental powers, you may see fastened up as a trophy a huge and somewhat unsightly oar, with which he helped to row his College boat on to victory; or a shining row of pewter and silver cups, won on the river or the running ground; while from another corner of the same room gleam richly-bound books, blazoned with College arms, and awarded for some triumph in the schools.

Much might be written to this effect, but it is not so much the blending of the distinctly social with the intellectual life which we wish to emphasize, as that many social pursuits partake also of an intellectual character. Such are the debating societies, with the Union at their head; and such also are musical societies, chess clubs, societies for reading Shakespeare, and others, among which must be included the amateur dramatic society. Musical societies, indeed, may perhaps be left to be treated entirely on their social side, though such treatment need not be supposed to involve the Platonic view that music appeals to the emotional side of our nature only. About most of the others something will be said presently. It may be that their multiplication tends to produce idleness or relaxed work in some cases, but it is none the less true that they are intellectual influences.

Before giving any detailed picture of Oxford intellectual life, it may be as well to notice some charges which are constantly brought against the Oxford system. Thus, it has been questioned whether, for the majority of undergraduates, there is any intellectual life at all. Undergraduates, according to these critics, pass a very enjoyable life of amusement, consisting of a long holiday, scarcely

broken by the slight labour of getting up enough facts to pass their examinations. First, however, it may be remarked that these examinations are by no means so very easy, as is shown by the number of men "ploughed." And many pass-men become interested in their work, while few can wholly escape the intellectual influences round them. And next, it must be remembered that pass-men are not the whole of Oxford. Even if the class-men were inferior in numbers, it might well be maintained that they are the most important and characteristic part of Oxford. But the real state of the case is, that the number of class-men is rather larger than that of pass-men,[1] a result which gives a conclusive and satisfactory answer to the above attack.

Considering the thousands of men who look back with gratitude to their Oxford days, and regard their University with deep affection for the great gifts of knowledge and culture which she has bestowed on them, it is ridiculous that such attacks should be made. Still, as they are made, and command a wide audience, it seemed advisable to say a few words on the point.

It is, of course, quite a different question how far social attractions, especially in summer term, interfere with work. The idle and gay aspect of Oxford, the one which naturally strikes a visitor most, is certainly often sufficiently prominent, and is felt by many of the authorities to be a reproach on Oxford. But the results of the class-lists at the end of summer term always show that under the frivolous-seeming surface much solid work has been going on.

[1] The relative numbers of pass and class are difficult to fix, partly owing to the complicated regulations for examination, partly to the different lengths of residence of different men. On an average, 400 men take honours every year in the Final Schools (last year (1891) the number was 407). The number of matriculations every year is at present between 700 and 800 (last year it was 771). As the number of undergraduates is slightly increasing, we may conclude that not more than 800 leave the University every year, of whom, therefore, a good half have taken honours.

But, although it is perfectly absurd to maintain that intellectual life at Oxford is an unknown and possibly non-existent quantity, yet the further question remains, whether the system of Oxford and the tone of her life may not tend to foster some of those ugly growths which cling round learning as round every good thing. Oxford is the head-quarters of the examination system, and has been freely accused of producing all the evils which are attributed to that, and, indeed, to any other system. The attacks upon her may be conveniently summed up under four heads. She is arraigned from different points of view as producing superficiality, pedantry, over-work, and over-specialisation. Such evils are undoubtedly always exemplified where education is carried on on a large scale, and one of the great educational problems we have to face is how they can be minimised. But that any one of them has decidedly infected Oxford, we believe to be quite untrue.

The superficiality complained of is two-fold. The first kind arises from the idleness and want of interest shown by many pupils, who only cram as much of their subjects as will just secure them their degree, and then forget as soon as possible the small amount they have learnt. We believe that the magnitude of this evil in Oxford has been much over-rated; but at any rate, she is making strong efforts to shake it off. A large portion of the remodelling of examinations ("tinkering," as it is profanely called), which has been going on more or less for the last ten years, has for its object the banishment of "cram," and the substitution of intelligent study. However, there will doubtless always be a certain number among the pass-men against whom this charge may be justly brought.

The second kind of superficiality is, perhaps, more characteristic of Oxford, and harder to deal with. It is the superficiality of the man who makes a great show with small intellectual wares, who treats books like noblemen, to quote Douglas Jerrold's witticism—that is, he learns their titles,

and brags of their acquaintance. There can be no doubt that Oxford education in general, and the Litteræ Humaniores School in particular, tend in certain cases to encourage this sort of shallowness. Some men aim at learning just enough of a subject to enable them to write a neat little essay on it, in which they may adroitly profess a thorough knowledge of the whole, and pass off as original, information gathered at second or third hand. Perhaps men of this type rarely produce a good enough impression on examiners to obtain first-class honours, for in the Litteræ Humaniores School deep as well as wide reading is necessary in many subjects; but there are many second and third class men who, in ordinary conversation at least, can apparently hold their own without much real knowledge. However, it is perhaps too much to hope that, in a place where learning is thought highly of, we can ever be free from the affectation of it.

Of pedantry in Oxford happily little need be said. If by pedantry we are to understand that sort of owl-like application to a few subjects, which renders the student incapable of recognising the importance of any others, and often unfits him for ordinary life, such pedantry hardly seems the fault of the present age. The multiplicity of subjects of interest is such that hardly any student can ignore the importance of other studies than his own. Neither is learning any longer regarded a disqualification for other pursuits. It is not so long ago, to quote a typical story, that a lady, after dancing with a gentlemanly undergraduate, was surprised to hear that he had taken a first-class, and wondered that he was the same as everybody else. Nobody would feel this surprise now. Perhaps this was at the end of a period when the typical reading-man was supposed to be like Mr Sloe, slightly sketched in "Verdant Green," who "teas all day long to keep himself awake for reading," and was considered by Mr Bouncer likely to "blow himself up with gunpowder tea, before he

could take his double-first." If this type is still existent, there must be very few specimens of it.

Similar observations may be made about over-work. That the pressure of competitive examinations has produced many instances of breakdown, and even of premature death, is sadly true. Of course celebrated doctors, by collecting these cases, are able to read us terrible lessons, and prophesy the speedy decay of Englishmen, if the abominable system be kept up. Few, however, really believe that the case is made out, when they consider the small proportion of these breakdowns to the total number of examinees; and Oxford has a small share of whatever blame there be, for the variety and versatility of her life is the best known antidote to the evil. Moreover, a system where all who reach a certain standard can get first-class honours, and where the success of one does not necessarily mean the failure of the other, does not stimulate to such break-neck competition.

As regards over-specialisation, we doubt if much can be made of the charge. It is sometimes said that men who are in for a particular examination seem to have no special interest outside it, but this may mean little more than that most of the Honour Schools are exacting, and leave little time for multifarious reading. As nobody would wish to see first-class honours gained too easily, the chance of this evil must clearly be run. The examination boards seem, as a rule, not afraid of it, for many of the changes distinctly tend to specialisation. It is right to add that a large party still exists, perhaps in a minority, which looks with disfavour on specialisation, for fear that it may destroy the peculiar merits of Oxford teaching.

On the whole, it is a fair conclusion to say that Oxford aims at the Aristotelian mean in these matters, with considerable success. For it must always be remembered that the very freedom allowed to undergraduates, one of the finest traits of Oxford, renders the teaching body less able to check such intellectual weeds.

After thus vindicating the claims of Oxford to a true and healthy intellectual life, we will now attempt to describe it. The subject may possibly be best approached by considering the intellectual influences, official and non-official, brought to bear on undergraduates, and the way in which they work. This will afford us a general sketch of the intellectual life, supplementary details of which will be given afterwards under their respective headings.

In the first place, something must be said about the tutors—a difficult and delicate subject, for in dealing with so eminent a body, criticism requires courage, while praise may be deemed superfluous.

The position of a successful Oxford tutor, able to influence by his teaching the picked intellects among the youth of England, is one of the noblest conceivable. There are many such; but the qualifications are high for such a task, and certainly there are many who either only partly succeed, or wholly fail. The responsibility must be largely borne by the system, formerly prevalent, but of late years widely superseded, of electing to tutorial fellowships by examination only. Obviously the possession of knowledge does not imply teaching power; and, what is more, the selected candidate was almost always a young man who had just taken his degree, and consequently had no experience in teaching. This experience had to be acquired at the expense of possibly several generations of undergraduates. Moreover, the work is hardly of such a character that from it can be formed a fair estimate of a man's teaching powers. The popularity of his lectures, or the reverse, and the success of his pupils in the schools, are the only criteria, and neither are particularly good ones. It follows that a tutor may teach for years without any good test of the efficiency of his teaching. A better plan is now usually adopted. Fellowships at present are of two kinds, prize fellowships, and tutorial fellowships. The former are intended as rewards for the most successful

men of their year. They are awarded by examination, are terminable after a fixed number of years, and carry with them no teaching functions. For the latter, as a rule, no examination is held, but a selection is made among candidates exactly as in appointing to head-masterships and other responsible posts. It is true that young men are still often selected, but these will be the most brilliant among the scholars, and a leavening influence is supplied by the introduction of other tutors, chosen from among schoolmasters and others of tested merit in teaching. Of course a new danger has sometimes to be guarded against, namely, lest the newly-elected tutors should have imbibed too much of the pedagogue spirit, and treat the undergraduates like school-boys. In fact, the selection of tutors is a most difficult task, since their qualifications must be so various, and their position, with regard to undergraduates, is so peculiar. For instance, the following qualifications may be mentioned as most essential to good teaching, and yet rarely found with high intellectual gifts, namely, the ability to comprehend the difficulties of dull pupils, and the patience to thoroughly explain them. It is a frequent complaint of pass-men that their tutors will not, or cannot, come down to the level of their minds.

Every undergraduate, besides having to attend a certain number of lectures, has a special tutor to whom he takes work. Happy those who are under a first-rate man! In his earlier years at Oxford a man may have a shy, schoolboy feeling towards his tutor, but in his last year of residence the barrier generally melts away, and the relations between teacher and pupil become quite unrestrained. The benefit thus derived is often incalculable. The undergraduate finds himself admitted to terms of friendship and even familiarity; while the reverence for what may be a celebrated name merges in a personal liking. How well all who have enjoyed this privilege remember the familiar nickname, which somehow did not detract from the

respect really felt; the cheerful half-hours, which were looked forward to as a pleasure, not as a toil; the wit and learning that were then shown us; the kindly criticism and encouragement! Many an old Oxford man will treasure up these things as among his most precious memories. Many a man, when he leaves Oxford, has gained in his tutor a true friend, whose advice, guiding hand, and ready help, will be of use to him all his life.

One of the great changes introduced by the Commissioners of 1877 has been the creation of a large body of married Fellows. This has considerably altered the conditions of College life. Married Fellows and tutors are, of necessity, non-resident, for though the experiment of building houses for married Fellows is now being tried at New and University Colleges, yet want of room makes such an arrangement impossible in most places. While, therefore, a certain number of Fellows are unmarried and resident, the greater part are not. The chief advantage of this change was, that it secured a body of more permanent teachers for Oxford; but it was much criticised, as likely to interfere with the corporate life of the Colleges, and loosen the ties between dons and undergraduates. The reply to this was, that the necessities of College discipline could be trusted to retain a sufficient number of resident Fellows. Lately, however, a compromise has pretty frequently been made, by which a Fellow is allowed to marry on condition that he sleeps a certain number of nights in College. Probably, therefore, the critics above referred to will soon have an opportunity of judging whether non-residence of Fellows really entails the evils they prophesy.

Lectures are the next important feature of intellectual Oxford which demands attention. Formerly lectures were divided into "public", which were delivered by Professors for any members of the University who might wish to attend, and "private", which were confined to undergraduates of

the Colleges at which they were delivered, except on payment of a special fee. About twenty years ago, a combination system of lectures was formed, several Colleges arranging that all the lectures at each one of them should be open to members of all those Colleges. This has now expanded into a vast system of inter-collegiate lectures, the ramifications of which are difficult to trace, but which practically throws open almost all lectures, with very few exceptions, to all undergraduates, irrespective of the particular College to which they may happen to belong. Theoretically, therefore, a man has now the choice of attending lectures in almost any College he pleases, and a complete list is published in the "Gazette" for that purpose. But practically the system works as follows. Most of the lectures are only attended by the men of the College at which they are delivered, who are, as a rule, expected to attend a certain number of College lectures. But the more prominent and successful lecturers have their class-rooms thronged by a crowd of men from all Colleges, voluntarily attending these lectures in addition to those of their own College, and are in this way practically, though non-officially, raised to the rank of University teachers. Thus the success of a lecture may be judged from the number of undergraduates attending it, who usually apply to it the plain straightforward test, whether its matter is directly "useful for the schools" or not. There is a general impatience of lectures not conforming to this standard, and if a tutor ventures to give his lectures a wider range, he will probably find the greater part of his voluntary audience rapidly disperse. Moreover, any want of clearness, or defect in style, will soon thin the lecture-room. There are, of course, lectures in which students find it desirable to take rapid notes at the time during the lecture, and then spend another hour in deciphering them ;. such, for instance, was often the case with the lectures of the late Professor T. H. Green. This, however, is only done when the known value of the lecture

outweighs any inconvenience caused by a too rapid delivery, or too great condensation of matter. As a general rule, men do not care to attend lectures in order to pick up what they can readily get in other ways. Thus lectures on Greek and Latin authors are often regarded as superfluous by the pupils, who think, whether rightly or wrongly, that little can be added to the excellent notes in the editions now used. In reading for Finals lectures are more useful and interesting, especially those on the general subjects in the Litteræ Humaniores School.

Now that the term "private lecture" is practically meaningless, the term "public lecture" is reserved for such among Professors' lectures as are of a popular character, and delivered to a mixed audience. These are a special feature of Oxford life, and deserve a detailed account. Apart from these it is doubtful whether the lectures of Professors, the official University (as distinguished from the College) teachers are very successful. The number of Professors was largely increased by the Commissioners of 1877, but the system has had no time to take root, and it is hard to see how it can do so. For the examinations dominate Oxford so completely that the men have usually no time nor inclination to attend lectures which are not useful for the schools. While, therefore, those among Professors whose lectures come under this category can command an audience, the majority secure but a thin attendance, a result due in no way to any inadequacy or want of interest in the lectures themselves. Hence the Commissioners have been reproached because while striving to do away with idle Fellows, they have created a class of idle Professors. Certainly under existing circumstances the influence brought to bear on undergraduates by so numerous and learned a body is very small. Many, however, maintain that the work of Professors is to be considered research quite as much as teaching.

Many of the public lectures draw large audiences, owing

partly to the popular character of the subjects, and partly to the fame of some of the lecturers. Such are the lectures of the Professors of Poetry and of Fine Art. In these lectures undergraduates enjoy the privilege of being directly instructed by some of the greatest minds of the age. Thus many generations of Oxford men have been able to listen to Ruskin, and the present generation can hear Palgrave and Herkomer. It must, however, be confessed that this privilege is not always used as it might be. The awkward times for the lectures, which are delivered in the afternoon, usually either at 2.30 or 4.30, partly account for this. Reading men will not give up their afternoon's exercise, nor idle men their afternoon's amusement. However, their place is largely filled up by the Oxford ladies, who always throng in crowds to any public lecture of a popular character.[1] Their presence is sometimes not approved of. Ruskin once declared in a lecture that the undergraduates ought to be his only hearers, and the undergraduates present somewhat ungallantly applauded. But certainly Ruskin had some reason, for he could always draw large audiences, and it was hard for a man to find himself shut out of a lecture-room, because all the space was taken up by ladies, who are only permitted to attend by courtesy.

Ruskin's power over young Oxford is a subject worth a short digression. His school of immediate disciples was small, though enthusiastic; but in many ways his influence reached far. His lectures always riveted the attention by their strangeness, equally with their eloquence. "I always wish to interest you," he once said, "and sometimes to shock you." In this he certainly did not fail. While his eccentricities furnished us with amusement, the beauty and grandeur of many of his thoughts have sunk deep into many minds. One project of his will be long remembered with a smile. He used to deplore the labour wasted on

[1] Not long ago the *Oxford Magazine* sarcastically described a certain public lecture as "the annual treat of the girls' schools in Oxford."

unproductive amusements, such as rowing, and tried to substitute for them the useful exercise of road-making. Under his auspices several men actually commenced repairing a road at Hincksey, two miles from Oxford, and during that time many undergraduates walked out and took a turn at the pickaxe and shovel. But the project came to nothing, and the road is still the muddiest spot in a very miry walk.

The lectures on Poetry and Art are sometimes delivered in the Sheldonian Theatre, which provides plenty of room for a large audience; in fact for a larger one than usually comes. In Poetry the chair has been lately filled by Matthew Arnold, Sir F. Doyle, J. C. Shairp, and F. T. Palgrave. Many will remember the pleasure they received from Doyle's lectures. Shairp's were felt by many to be disappointing, and hardly worthy of his fame. The chair is at present worthily filled by the compiler of the "Golden Treasury."

Among the Professors the most conspicuous figure of late years has been Professor Freeman, whose recent loss has left a sad gap in Oxford life. The energy of his views, and of his expression of them, frequently aroused both interest and amusement. Such were his well-known phrase, "The Unity of History"; his slashing attacks on all recent changes in the examination system, naturally excepting those which he himself advocated, but which unfortunately did not happen to be carried; or the challenge he threw down to Professor Seeley, by lecturing on "George Washington, Expander of England." Very sad it is that he should have died so suddenly, leaving unfinished his great work on Sicily.

No account of the intellectual life would be complete without some reference to the examinations, the key-stone, as it may fairly be called, of the Oxford educational system. Yet the subject is so vast that it would be absolutely impossible to give any adequate idea of it in two or three pages. The complicated character of its machinery may be gathered from the statement that there are over four

thousand different ways in which the B.A. degree can be obtained.[1] All that can be attempted here is to touch upon a few salient features of the various examinations, chiefly with a view to bring out the intellectual influence they exert on the men who read for them.

The first examination, Responsions or "Smalls," an ordeal which all undergraduates alike have to pass, whether they intend to try for honours afterwards or not, is worth lingering over for a moment, not because of its difficulty, for it is quite a simple affair to most men, but because it renders some knowledge of Greek absolutely necessary for taking the B.A. degree. It has been called a narrow gate, through which all Oxonians must pass, and where Greek is unrelentingly demanded as part of the toll. This provision has been much criticised, and it is possible that the present generation may see it altered. It is hard to deny that occasionally men who have had no classical education, and who wish to enter for honours in subjects like law and history, have a grievance. Nor can the required minimum (usually two plays of Euripides and some grammar) be considered a very important point. Those, however, who have followed with attention the recent contest at the sister University on the same subject, will agree that there is much to be said on the other side. For instance, if Greek were no longer necessary for a degree, many schoolmasters would find it difficult to induce an adequate number of boys to learn the subject, and we might see it fall into the neglect that has befallen verse-composition.

The consideration of the Pass schools in general, which may be conveniently taken next in order, opens up the interesting question, whether Oxford does her best for the pass-men, who constitute about one-half of the Undergraduate world. The usual indictment against her is put pretty

[1] Most of the combinations referred to in this total, which has been carefully worked out, arise from the five alternative examinations for Responsions, and the great number of subjects to choose from in Pass Greats.

strongly by the private tutor in *Punch*, who is supposed to say to a favourite pupil preparing for the University, "Work well with me for six months, and I promise you a long three years' holiday when you go up to Oxford." Such an estimate of the subject, even allowing for satiric exaggeration, will suggest to Oxonians that Mr Punch's knowledge of the subject can hardly be first hand. At least this much may be said, that a Pass degree, if honestly worked for, will involve a considerable amount of interesting and instructive work. Thus most pass-men read, among many other subjects, the Apology of Plato, and half of the Ethics of Aristotle; they study the campaigns of Hannibal, and are introduced to the problems of Inductive Logic and Political Economy. It is, of course, true that many men do not get all the advantage from these subjects which they might, but could they do so under any conceivable system? There is, be it remembered, a wholly different line of criticism which accuses Oxford of making things too hard for the "average" undergraduate. Examiners have to hold firm to their standard, amid dark rumours that the number of railway tickets for Cambridge was never known to be so large, and in spite of the warning of some sporting authority that it would be wisest to "back" Cambridge for any forthcoming Inter-University athletic contest. Such a criticism has of course its serious side, which not only deserves to be, but is, without doubt, actually taken into account by those who control the examination system.

Of honour men in Oxford there are two kinds, pretty nearly equal in numbers—those who take one honour school only, and those who take two. The former are usually the specialists, for whose needs it is probable Oxford will tend to provide more and more largely in the future, though she is quite alive to the possible dangers of over-specialisation, which have been already touched on in this chapter. The second kind are the truest sons of Oxford. With them the most usual course is to select the classical school in

Moderations and Litteræ Humaniores in Finals. In the former examination a new system has been working about five years. The most important change then introduced was that, whereas, previously, fixed selections from Homer, Demosthenes, Virgil, and Cicero had to be studied, these four authors have now to be studied as wholes,[1] and passages are set out of them for translation only. This alteration, which promised well at the time, has not been found to work exactly as it was expected, especially in the case of the prose authors. The amount of ground to be covered is so large that work spent on them often seems to have no adequate reward in the examination. Thus a man might have read largely, and yet find he had read none of the passages set. Accordingly there is a tendency among many of the clever men to regard these books as "unseen translation," while those of less ability find that it often "pays" best to study their special books carefully, and let these other books for the most part take their chance. Consequently there is a good deal of talk heard now that honour men have too little to do their first year, that a good sixth form boy could practically take "Honour Mods." directly after matriculating, and so on. This consideration was one cause, among several, of a movement which was started last year in favour of shortening the honour course, by reducing it from four years to three. At present little seems to have come of it, apparently because of the possible danger involved to the school of Litteræ Humaniores. This is by far the most successful examination in Oxford, happily blending the subjects of Classics, Philosophy, and Ancient History, and few of those who really know its working wish seriously to alter it. Even "the highest class of students, who look beyond University examinations," for whose wants the newly-appointed Professors were supposed to be going to cater, must surely derive benefit from reading for this school. And of the excellence of its in-

[1] Only the speeches of Cicero.

fluence, broadly speaking, on the mass of men who enter for it, there can hardly be two opinions. Indeed, the breadth of mental view, and impartiality of judgment, which are characteristic of the best Oxford scholars, are largely due to this examination.

The preceding heads, Tutors, Professors, Lectures, and Examinations, may be called the official influences of Oxford. But still more important and interesting are those special influences which work less directly, such as the manner of life and tone of thought of a man's College friends, or the general environment of Oxford.

It is sometimes objected to Oxford that her degrees are won too easily, for they can all be gained by pass-men, and the standard of the examinations required is lower than in the corresponding ones at, *e.g.*, London University. To this it has been considered a sufficient answer that residence in Oxford is in itself an important part of education. The air of Oxford, intellectually speaking, we believe to be wholesome and bracing. Though some of the phenomena are singular and perhaps repellent, yet the whole tone of thought leads to toleration and broadness of view. All opinions are subjected to the test of reason, and all who hold opinions strongly will find themselves expected to justify them by reasons, and will not be allowed to shelter themselves under the plea of authority, or the universal practice of the world. On the other hand, those who have a sophistical and paradoxical turn will delight in finding reasons for the most extravagant opinions, of the truth of which they believe they have convinced themselves. Accordingly there is scarcely any craze or extravagance of thought which does not meet with disciples in Oxford. Another noteworthy feature is the unpractical tendency of much of Oxford thought. Based as it generally is on pure reason, it fails by neglecting some practical aspect of the question. This is especially noticeable in political thought, where Oxford

often exhibits impatience of the working anomalies which are bound up with English life. From another point of view, indeed, such an attitude may be considered a wholesome corrective to the lazy acquiescence of the ordinary British citizen.

Again, the critical, not to say hypercritical, tone assumed by a large part of Oxford, is a thoroughly characteristic feature, and one admitting of much amusing illustration. One of its effects, for instance, is a curious reserve in expressing opinions, which is perhaps most noticeable among senior members. "Few men are more to be pitied," wrote the *Oxford Magazine*, "than the unfortunate examiner in Greats who is forced to commit himself to a decided opinion before his fellow-examiners." Readers of "Robert Elsmere" will remember Langham's dislike to be asked on what day the term ended, because that was a question to which a categorical answer could not be avoided. This feature sometimes is a bar to conversation. It may almost be said that if a man has special knowledge of a subject he is silent, lest he may be thought to talk "shop"; while if he has no special knowledge he is silent, lest he may lay himself open to criticism. Thus we have free discussion and criticism singularly blent with this spirit of reserve.

The way in which all these influences work on the mind of the average undergraduate has often been described. The process usually gone through is that of every newly-awakened mind, and may be found written large in the history of every people. To the age of faith when opinions are accepted on authority follows an age of active inquiry and often of doubt. Then finally the doubts resolve themselves, and an age of reason follows, when opinions are held from mature conviction. Many Oxford men go through the whole of this process during their three or four years' residence. The freshman usually is a school-boy, who has taken his opinions on authority, and who has hardly considered the possibility of reasonable beings thinking

differently from himself on religion and politics. Arrived at Oxford, he is at once surprised and possibly bewildered to find free discussion on all subjects, to hear opinions he considers certain called in question, and beliefs he regards as sacred made matter for argument. He finds himself easily worsted, when he tries to maintain his own opinions, and feels that he must think and reason for himself. So far the way is the same for all, but here it divides into three paths. Some few, convinced of the truth of their opinions, hold firmly and fearlessly to them, fight down difficulties as they arise, and leave Oxford with convictions more deeply and firmly established. Others, carried away by the intoxication of new ideas, abandon their convictions at once and join whatever band of thinkers they are most attracted to. These two classes, however, are the minority. In most cases, where the intellect has been awakened, there follows a period of doubt and eager inquiry, not in many cases a stormy and troubled time, but rather a time when the mind begins to rejoice in its newly-found power, and is inclined to skim rather too lightly over questions and to decide them offhand. Many of us, when we look back at that period in our lives, can feel some regret that

> "That time is past,
> And all its aching joys are now no more,
> And all its dizzy raptures."

Oxford will be blamed by few because in some of her pupils this state of doubt and suspended judgment becomes permanent. Many men, indeed, who leave Oxford before they have emerged from it, soon find settled convictions when once engaged in the real battle of life. Others, again, more fortunate still, have their doubts resolved and convictions resettled before leaving their Alma Mater. The influences brought to bear upon a man in his last year are usually highly beneficial, especially if he be reading for the School of Litteræ Humaniores, in which case the noblest thoughts of the best writers, ancient and modern, on the

highest subjects, will be forced on his attention. And so a man, when leaving Oxford, will often have already learnt to smile at his intellectual extravagances during his earlier years there.

It remains to give an account of the position in Undergraduate Oxford, of various branches of thought, such as Philosophy, Politics, Literature, and the Drama.

Perhaps no study is to be considered so characteristic of Oxford as that of Philosophy. Many men can look back to the time when, as undergraduates, they took an interest, now no longer kept up, in those world-old problems, always to be fought over, and never to be solved. Others, again, may recall the time when an interest was awakened, which has lasted, and given them life-long food for reflection. The latter band, however, will be naturally small, for Philosophy is an exacting mistress, and demands more time and brain-work than most men have to spare. Oxford thus seems identified with Philosophy. And yet, we believe, it constitutes a very small part of Oxford life. Teachers are few, not many Colleges numbering more than one or two philosophers among their teaching staff. Again, there is no special examination in philosophy; it only forms a part of the Litteræ Humaniores School, and many have taken honours, and even high honours, in that school, who have scarcely stepped over the threshold of the temple of philosophy. Yet the few who have done so are those to whom Oxford has given of her best.

The method of teaching always has this great characteristic. The student is taken first to the ancient philosophers. He is taught to read and appreciate Plato and Aristotle, and thence he is led down the stream of history to modern times. It is a noticeable feature of Oxford work that she draws no line between ancient and modern thought, but encourages the study of both, side by side. Soon among the students the usual division takes place. Led by the bent of their own minds, and the guiding hands

of their tutors, they fall into one or other of the two great camps into which philosophy is divided. This division is one far more easily felt than accurately stated, and without attempting to be very exact, we may adequately describe it by saying that some follow the lead of Locke and Hume, others that of Kant. About twenty years ago, the former school was in the ascendant, and Mill its great authority. Then came the time of reaction, largely owing to the teaching and personal influence of the late Professor T. H. Green of Balliol, and the tide set strongly in the other direction. It must not, however, be supposed that Mill is entirely dethroned. His works, especially his "Logic," are still recognised text-books, and questions are set largely from them. However, in answering these the student is expected to show himself able to criticise Mill's views.

The philosophy of Professor Green, perhaps the most potent intellectual influence in Oxford during the last twenty years, deserves a fuller notice. Not so long ago Mr Mark Pattison told us, in his "Memoirs," of the downfall of Mill and sensationalism, and the growing influence of Green, who "brought Kant and Hegel to Oxford." The late Rector of Lincoln was a hostile critic, and his statement, though true, is, taken by itself, misleading. Green's philosophy is not simply a reproduction of German thought; it is much better described as a criticism, or better still, as a reconstruction of the traditional English philosophy, of which Locke, Hume, and Mill are representative names, in the light furnished by the foreign systems of Kant and Hegel. Not to dwell long on matters which have little interest for the general reader, we may yet point out how such a criticism demanded, alike from friend and foe, a survey of the whole field of modern philosophy; and why it is, therefore, that in the Oxford of to-day the interest in metaphysical speculation is so much wider and keener than it was. Nevertheless, had Professor Green been no more than a metaphysician, his influence,

great as it was, could never have extended beyond a comparatively narrow circle. That which attracted young Oxford about him was the union in him of the speculative and the practical; the conviction, which inspires and invigorates his philosophy, that to conceive the ideal intellectually, and to realise it actually, amid the world in which we live, are but different aspects of one and the same endeavour. To such teaching, set forth as it was in a life of singular devotion and simplicity, may be most truly traced that great wave of philanthropic interest, which in our generation has swept over Oxford with such beneficial effect. Nothing is more surprising to old Oxford men than the interest which undergraduates now take in the many practical questions which connect themselves with religion, morality, or politics. Though there are many parties and many methods, the leaders of nearly all would have to confess that a large part of their inspiration came from "Green of Balliol." It is sad to remember that a life in which so much had been done, and so much more was promised, should have prematurely closed in middle age.

During the last decade a strong intellectual influence was exerted by the Rev. Aubrey Moore, of Keble and Magdalen Colleges, who has also been prematurely lost to us, when his work, as it seemed, was hardly begun. But for a discussion of his life and work a fitter place will be found in the chapter on the Religious Life of Oxford.

One marked feature of Oxford which may be noted at this point is the growth of societies of all sorts. Their number and variety may be seen from the following list, copied at random from a number of the *Oxford Magazine*, merely as a sample:—Oxford Union Society, O.U. Musical Club, O.U. Musical Society, Newman Society, Ruskin Society, Junior Scientific Club, St Hilary Essay Society, Society of Historical Theology, O.U. Society for the Defence of the Church in Wales, Guild of St Matthew, O.U. Chess Club. All of these belong to the class of societies open to all Oxford. But besides this every College has two

or three of its own. Of these some are for undergraduates only, some for graduates only, while a smaller number admit both graduates and undergraduates. Their fortunes are various. Some last on for years, and become venerable; others are sustained a few years by the energy of their original promoters, and then die away. This seems likely to be the fate of the "Philosophical," which was started about eight years ago to promote the discussion of philosophical questions between graduates and undergraduates. It may, however, show unexpected vitality. The only other philosophical society, so far as we know, is the "Aristotelian," and is confined to graduates.

Turning to the subject of Politics, we find very different views, both far from the truth, current about the tendencies of Oxford. To some she appears the incarnation of rigid Conservatism; to others, a hot-bed of violent Radicalism. From the point of view of an election agent, the constituency of Oxford University, of course, presents an unbending Conservative front. This, as is well known, is due to the number of non-resident M.A.'s, who are largely country clergymen. But, among the resident M.A.'s, it would be difficult to assert positively, which party is in the majority. At all events, all opinions are represented, all discussed, and all tolerated. Oxford is safe from the crystallisation of habit and opinion which grows so often on the man who has definitely settled down to work in some part of the country, and results in an unbending political dogmatism. However, many politicians, neglecting these obvious facts, have considered, or chosen to consider, Oxford a mighty stronghold of prejudice. The scene at the Encœnia of 1887, when John Bright, the man who had once described Oxford as "the home of dead languages and of living prejudices," received an honorary degree amid a very tempest of cheering, strikingly illustrates this point.

But this is a digression from Undergraduate Oxford. The

opposite view, that Oxford is extremely Radical, is due mainly to the energy with which the advanced section of undergraduates, a very small minority, expresses its opinions. As the great body of undergraduates who come to Oxford from school are traditional Conservatives, it is natural that those who are converted to the opposite political faith should be the most eager politicians, and have most to say in defence of their opinions.[1] It must not, however, be understood that all the Conservatism of Oxford is traditional and unreasoning. A large part of it must be so, but there are plenty of men who are Conservatives from reasoned conviction. The days are past when Liberalism was the creed of most clever undergraduates, and Conservatism was rather regarded the sign of an inferior intellect.

The Debating Societies provide several outlets for political energy. Foremost of these is the celebrated Union, which has a history of more than sixty years, and numbers among its Presidents Archbishop Tait, Bishop Wilberforce, Cardinal Manning, Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, Lord Dufferin, Lord Sherbrooke, and other names nearly as famous. The Union is partly a literary club, partly a debating society. Like all long-established institutions, it has periodical ups and downs. The development of clubs in connection with the great schools has to some extent injured its numbers and popularity. But the debates, which half-a-dozen years ago were not of a high order, have of late years revived, and are now often exceedingly interesting. A judicious plan of occasionally inviting public men to take part in the debate has contributed much to this revival.

[1] "By the way, from having been an ardent Tory in his freshman's year, his principles took a sudden turn afterwards, and he became a Liberal of the most violent order. He avowed himself a Dantonist, and asserted that Louis the Sixteenth was served right." ("Pendennis," vol. i. chap. 18.) University life has changed much for the better since Thackeray wrote of it; but the leading features of his vigorous sketch are as true as ever.

A Union debate is a highly characteristic Oxford scene, and deserves a detailed description. The Debating Hall is large and new. At the centre of the upper end is the President's chair, on the right of which are the Conservative benches, on the left the Liberal. The lower end is taken up by cross-benches, on which those may sit who are of no declared political colour. A gallery runs above, to which ladies are admitted. During the day the room is used as a reading-room, but every Thursday night, at eight, the newspapers are cleared away, and the room rapidly fills. Then the President and other officers enter, and cries of "Order, order," are raised against those members who have neglected to remove their hats. Before the debate, there comes what is known as private business, which affords a recognised opportunity for the younger members to try to show off their wit. The President gravely inquires whether any honourable member has any question to ask of the officers of the Society with regard to their official duties. Then comes some fun. One member will demand, with a voice quivering with emotion, when the Treasurer is going to rise to the level of the age and supply reply postcards for the members' use. Another will ironically suggest that the President cannot be aware that the clock was, on Monday, a minute and a half behind time. The power of scoring-off these would-be jokers, and turning the laugh against them, is much thought of. When this is over, the real debate begins. The mover of a question is allowed half-an-hour for speaking, the other members being restricted to twenty minutes, towards the end of which time a warning electric bell is rung by the President, as a hint that the speaker should bring his remarks to a conclusion. Four speeches are always arranged beforehand—those of the mover and opposer, and one other speech on each side. When these are over, anybody is allowed to speak, and the interest, as a rule, visibly slackens. The *beau idéal* of a Union speech is one bristling with brilliant antithesis and

epigram. The Union audience is one of the most impatient and critical to be found, and no nervous nor affected speaker has a chance before it. Sentiment is never tolerated, and rhetoric very rarely, unless it exactly fits in with the views of the hearers. Some members are markedly unpopular, and can never get a hearing. Thus the Union once denied itself, for a whole year, the luxury of square envelopes, because an unpopular member always asked for them at question-time. On another occasion, a member was jeered at while proposing a tribute to Victor Hugo. It was thought at the time that an insult had been offered to a great man's memory; but those knowing the temper of the Union will understand that the said member's unpopularity was the sole cause of the manifestation. With these exceptions, the audience is fair and unprejudiced. It will listen contentedly to orators who amuse it, whatever be the opinions advocated; but will not tolerate a dull speaker, however popular his statements may be with the majority.

It is needless to say that the oratory generated by this system is not first class. The style tends to be flashy and superficial, and the matter not unfrequently reminds one strongly of the latest newspaper leaders. But a successful Union orator has of necessity acquired many qualifications for speaking, and the more solid ones can be added afterwards. Many of our present statesmen have been trained in this school.

Besides the Union there are several other debating societies, some named after distinguished politicians, such as the Palmerston, the Canning, the Strafford, and the Russell. Almost every College has its own, the audience of which is not usually so terrible as that of the Union. Thus a dull and weary speech of an essay character, made by a hard-working scholar of the College, may be listened to with the semblance of attention, and duly applauded. Some of the oratory would be of a lighter character than at

the Union, and whimsical nonsense will occasionally prove an agreeable interlude to the more serious speeches. Most of these societies are great sticklers for the forms of debate, and derive great amusement from their occasional infraction. If the President inadvertently breaks some rule, he may find a vote of censure upon him at once carried, all in perfect good humour. These debating societies are certainly of much use in teaching men to speak who do not aspire to become Union orators.

Education in Literature, at least in Modern Literature, has so far almost escaped being a part of the Oxford curriculum. It is true that English Literature is one of the subjects which may be taken up in Pass Greats, but this course is taken by few. But hitherto, though Ancient Literature forms an important part of Classical Honour Moderations, there has been no honour examination in Modern Literature. About five years ago a new school in Modern Languages and Literature was proposed, but was rejected by Congregation on a division, the votes being equal. Since then no further step has been taken in this direction, though the question is by no means at rest. Quite recently Mr Churton Collins, himself an old Oxford man, has been again urging on his University from the outside the importance of establishing a Literature school, while a powerfully signed memorial was unsuccessfully laid before the Hebdomadal Council, with whom the initiative in legislation lies, to propose a new Honour School in English.

Possibly, therefore, the present generation may see this change effected. But in any case it may be as well to notice a point often lost sight of, namely, how much Oxford has always done indirectly to educate the taste and form the judgment in literary matters. Vast libraries lie round the student, to which he may, without much difficulty, gain access. He hears all sorts of books talked of and criticised, and soon desires to read and judge for him-

self, if only to take a worthy part in his friends' conversation. Thus undergraduates who have come from school totally unacquainted with English literature rapidly learn to read and admire. If the tone of literary comment has a fault, it is that it is too critical. This is natural in a society where bright and smart conversation is thought so highly of, and witticisms and epigrams are treasured up, and go the round of the Colleges. But it is certainly a fault. Thus, if a writer has several marked defects, easily ridiculed, his possible good qualities are not thought of. A good instance of this is the low reputation which Dickens apparently always has in undergraduate Oxford. Anybody with the least turn for criticism can discover faults in every page of Dickens, and thus many men are led to speak slightingly of the author of "David Copperfield" and "Bleak House." The Master of Balliol must have had this characteristic defect of Oxford in his mind when he said to the Professor of Poetry, on the occasion of his inaugural lecture, "Teach us not to criticise, but to admire" —a word happily addressed to the man who has done more to teach us to appreciate the true gold of our literature, and to separate it from the dross, than any writer of our generation, except perhaps Matthew Arnold.

Oxford is not destitute of a literature of its own. Some of us feel that no production of these days can quite touch the celebrated "Oxford Spectator," though in fact this belief may be illusory. There is now a regular Oxford magazine, "printed on beautiful paper, with an artistic cover," as we were told by an Oxford friend, who meant, not obscurely, to hint that these were its principal merits— an undeserved criticism quite in the Oxford manner. The magazine is, of course, largely taken up with College news and other matters of little general interest. It always opens with about four pages entitled "Notes and News," in which it comments on University topics generally. These notes are as a rule smartly written, and something

amusing may nearly always be discovered in them. Often they are couched in a peculiar learned and allusive style, which is hard reading for those who have not the key. To take a simple instance, when the magazine announced that "The Senior Fellow of Corpus is dead," it was not everybody who knew that a cat was meant. Not long ago some words of ironical praise were gravely extracted by the man referred to, and used as an advertisement. The rest of the magazine is apt to be dull, but an oasis is not seldom found in the shape of a witty article or poem. These are sometimes first-class, and when a number of them were selected and reprinted not long ago, under the title of "Echoes from the Oxford Magazine," a brilliant and amusing volume was the result.

Undergraduate wit, from time to time, tries to find vent in the publication of other journals and pamphlets. For as the magazine is open to contributions both from graduates and undergraduates, it appears to many of the latter to represent the dons too exclusively. This was the cause of the appearance of a journal called the "Undergraduate," which was started in January 1888, and ran about a year. But the most prominent of such productions in late years has been the "Rattle," which was first brought forward during the Torpid races of 1886, purporting to be a journal of the races. Besides the information about the races, it contained parodies of considerable merit, and often poked broad fun at some prominent University characters. Since then the "Rattle" has practically become a yearly institution, and is now brought out at the "Eights," not at the Torpids. It varies much in merit from year to year. At its best, it is a highly amusing accompaniment to the races, but it too often contains nothing but threadbare jokes.

A journal called "The Pelican" has lately appeared in Corpus—the first instance, we believe, of an individual College making such an experiment. This lead has now been followed by Christchurch, and the present year

(1892) has seen quite a fresh outcrop of Oxford literature, two new periodicals having just been started.

The Drama has received a great stimulus in Oxford during the last six or eight years. It is generally known that up to the year 1886 no theatrical representations were allowed at Oxford during Term-time. The result was that the "Vic," as the old theatre was called, degenerated into a low music-hall. But the influence of the Master of Balliol, who was then Vice-Chancellor, was largely instrumental in effecting a great change. Under his auspices, in June 1880, the "Agamemnon" was produced in the original Greek in Balliol Hall. Since amateur theatricals have been taken under the Vice-Chancellor's protection, they have flourished greatly, and the year 1886 saw the establishment of a new theatre in Oxford, inaugurated by a performance of "Twelfth Night" by undergraduate amateurs. The Master of Balliol, as Vice-Chancellor, further accentuated his approval of theatricals by inviting Mr Irving to lecture in the New Schools at Commemoration-time, and himself seizing the occasion to set forth how great an intellectual engine he believed we might have in the acting and hearing of first-rate plays such as Shakespeare's. Since that time amateur theatricals have become an annual institution. Greek plays have been acted twice—the "Alcestis" in 1887, and the "Frogs" in the present year (1892). On all other occasions but one Shakespeare has been acted, the exception being in 1890, when the play chosen was Browning's "Strafford."

Such are some of the intellectual aspects of young Oxford. Some are lighter, and some more serious, but all characterised by that which is her principal charm, the bright and many-sided play of the newly-awakened intellect. To omit from the picture much that may seem trifling or extravagant would impair its truth. Seriousness and conviction come generally with years; where they are found in the young, we shall often, if we look deeper, find the

ugly growths of priggishness and dogmatism. Instead of blaming Oxford for not always giving these gifts, let us thank her for the great gifts she has to give; for teaching the young mind to think and to reason, for imparting that tolerance which comes of a widened experience, and for storing the memory with the noblest images and sayings of the world's greatest writers, whether ancient or modern.

From much of what has been said, it will be seen that Oxford has of late changed much and is still changing. The action of the Commissioners has greatly altered the tenure of Fellowships and Professorships. The studies of the University have been "re-organised and grouped into definite faculties, controlled by newly-constituted Boards," with the result that important changes in the examinations have been and are still being made. Many other changes have to be described in the following chapters, such as the admission of women to examinations, the foundation of a Nonconformist College, and the noble attempt to carry Oxford influences, religious and intellectual, into East London. That these changes are in the main beneficial, will hardly be denied. Only let us hope that while Oxford intellectual life is made by these influences fuller, freer, and, in the truest sense, more national, her own peculiar excellences may not disappear.

F. G. B.

Chapter V.

SOCIAL LIFE AT OXFORD.

OXFORD has been, and is, a birthplace of movements rather than a home of learning. Whether this characteristic is a proper one for a University is hardly a subject for argument here; but it is important to recognise a fact which is partly to be explained by the social side of Oxford life. In other countries men, or rather boys, go to the University to learn. In England they go to develop. The modes of development, it is true, are various; in some cases the development is sham or retrogressive, but in most it is real, and the years spent at the University fulfil the important task of forming a young man's character. To show how this is done is to give a picture of life at the University from its general or social aspect as opposed to the life of any one limited or special set; and to give such a picture one must, so to speak, collect and intermingle, one with another, the different types of men and the different pursuits and pastimes which they each affect.

Among those who come up to Oxford there are several well-defined types: to an undergraduate, at any rate, there is a strongly-marked line of distinction between those who are "public school men," and those who are not; and each of these divisions again may be subdivided. First, there is the public school boy who is born in the purple; he, under the genial warmth of opportunity that Oxford affords him of spending money and indulging in the fashionable pleasures of the day, rapidly becomes a man of the world and finds in Oxford a pleasant stepping-stone from the

supposed restraint of a public school to the supposed freedom of manhood. Next, there is the ordinary young man, whose ambitions lie in the social and athletic rather than in the studious line; and a third type is to be found in those who have ideas, who come to Oxford as to a larger field for their action, and find it such according to the measure of their ability and perseverance. Besides the above, one recognises among those who have not been to one of the great public schools, similar types corresponding in other points to those already described, but differing from them in this important particular—that they have not experienced the trials nor reaped the benefits of those much-discussed institutions.

This classification of those who come up to Oxford is perhaps somewhat arbitrary, but without some such arrangement into classes it is impossible to apprehend the cross lines of cleavage and stratification which divide Oxford undergraduates on the one hand into rowing-men, cricketers, or what not, and on the other into politicians, reading men, or social good fellows. These cross-divisions make it exceedingly difficult to present a picture of Oxford which will at once be true to the life, and therefore acceptable to an old Oxonian, and at the same time intelligible to the outside world. It seems, however, if any adequate account is to be given of Oxford social life, the subject must be approached in two different ways. In the first place, we must discuss the various occupations, pursuits, and pastimes that attract the many different sets and types of men, and consider the social side of each of these. Then a more general view will be required, and an attempt must be made to criticise and explain life at Oxford as a whole—to see what, if any, characteristics are common to all its divisions and all its sets—to ascertain, in short, what is connoted by the term "Oxonian."

An Oxford day falls into three divisions, of which the morning is by most men devoted to work, the afternoon to

play, and the evening to that form of social intercourse which may suit their individual taste or satisfy their particular aspirations. Of the first we need say nothing, as it is not part of our business to describe work at the University, while we may ignore that fraction of the undergraduates who devote their mornings as well as their afternoons to their favourite sport or pastime. A few words, however, may be said, in passing, on a recent development of modern Oxford, which, though properly a part of its working side, has also a social aspect. This is the system of inter-college lectures. Whereas twenty years ago an undergraduate did not go to any lectures outside his College, he now attends many such, and, as a result, in his work as well as in his amusements he mixes with, and is to a certain extent affected by, men of other Colleges. If the lecture be attended by but few, it is natural that some intimacy should spring up among those who attend it; and even in the crowded hall of the popular lecturer, a man soon learns to be familiar with the faces at anyrate of his contemporaries.

To come now to the occupations which engross the attention and consume the leisure of an Oxford undergraduate, we find at the outset that they fall into two main divisions—the sports and pastimes, which may be almost looked on as "official," and the purely social or semi-intellectual occupations and gatherings of the various clubs and societies. Of all the pursuits to which Oxford undergraduates devote their energies there is none so engrossing as Rowing. Few are the men who despise or affect to despise the rowing element in a College, and in most Colleges a majority of its members have been at one time or other more or less connected with their College boats. This is partly owing to tradition and partly to the common-sense view that rowing is compatible with and ancillary to more serious pursuits. But whatever the cause, the fact remains that the river, its pleasures and duties, form a

pivot for the social life of a College, around which swing in varying but unceasing force, Torpids and Eights, Training breakfasts, and College "Rags,"—each and all embodying in their own particular way the life of the College and its latent force, of which the river is the ever fresh nurse. The river, too, is many-sided. Not only is it the scene of that form of athletic pursuit which is most characteristic of Oxford and the meeting-place of all types and conditions of Oxford people who love it and take delight in using it, but it is also the place where the student can spend a quiet hour and obtain that quantum of exercise which is necessary for his health and work. More than this, it is the place where undergraduates enjoy the society of the other sex during the Eights, in Commemoration week, and at the occasional water parties that are interspersed through the Summer Term. The river is in fact instinct with the social side of Oxford life. Its devotees have a sort of Freemasonry among themselves; and between the members of different Colleges it provides a healthy rivalry which does much to keep up the tone and nourish the energy of succeeding generations of Oxford men. There is, of course, in rowing as in other pursuits, that contempt of others less favoured by nature or less trained by practice, which makes some Colleges look down on the attempts of their less skilful rivals, and which causes the rowing enthusiast, who regards his Eight or Torpid as the be-all and end-all of existence, to despise the duffer who rows for exercise or pleasure, or who saunters along the Cherwell with book or pipe. But this contempt is harmless, and does not lessen those universal expressions and feelings of enthusiasm which centre round and encourage the College crew as it tries to improve its position on the river in the Spring and Summer Terms. These are the occasions, interesting enough in themselves, which bring into strong relief that enthusiastic energy which, like most Englishmen, the Oxford man is at other times apt to hide under a *blasè* behaviour.

Then all sets and types of undergraduates, most Dons, and many old Oxonians gather together, and in their excitement give glimpses of the true value of Oxford as a place that promotes good fellowship and honours a laudable energy.

So much for the general effect of Rowing. There are also the mysteries of the pastime, which, though shared in by comparatively few, have nevertheless a very great social effect. In some Colleges the Boating set keeps by itself; in most, it is representative of, and mixed up with, the mass of the College far more so than the followers of any other athletic pursuit. This is caused and kept up by the almost universal custom of giving breakfasts to the Torpid or Eight—a means of social intercourse which often enables men of different tastes to see and rub against each other, and also tends to make the College as a whole identify itself with its rowing representatives. These latter, however, have more than this. For weeks they take their meals and live much of the day together. Some men find this arrangement a considerable trial to their temper; but on the whole, few who have rowed in Torpid or Eight, will look back with aught but gratitude to the pleasure and good they derived from these periods of intimate society among members of the same crew. Snobbishness cannot live under such conditions; jealousy can have no place in the presence of healthy rivalry; and egotism, whether intellectual, moral, or social, must gradually give way before the genial warmth and physical energy of a Training. Thus men who row together come to be tolerant. They come to realize that there are other types, other aspirations, and other modes of thought than their own, and so they learn the great lesson which life at Oxford teaches, for the most part unconsciously, but none the less most thoroughly, to tolerate others and take them as you find them.

After Rowing, Cricket may be taken as the most popular and universal pursuit at Oxford. Between it, however,

and its sister pursuit there is this marked difference, that, while rowing may be learned at Oxford, and distinction on the river is open to all who are strong and energetic, cricket is confined to those who have played at school, and can hardly be learned at the University: hence it is the pastime of the few rather than the occupation of a College as a whole. Those who do not belong to their College elevens — first or second — find little opportunity of indulging in the game and mixing with their fellows. In fact, the cricketing element in a College is more of a set, and lives a life more apart from the rest of its contemporaries, than does the rowing element. Again, except for those few who have a chance of getting into the 'Varsity Eleven, it is a much more indolent occupation than rowing. There is, as a rule, far less interest taken by the College as a whole in the performances of its Eleven than in those of its Eight; the members of the former are less known than those of the latter; and in cricket there is not that intimacy and mixture of leaders with rank and file that is to be found on the river. The effect of this on the social life of a College is curious. Whereas rowing has acted, and still seems to act, as a bond between the different sets and types of men who come from public schools or elsewhere, bringing together men of various antecedents, and breaking down the somewhat exclusive tendencies of public school associations,—cricket tends rather to form and foster more or less exclusive sets who find their own society pleasant enough, and rather hold aloof from the rest of College life. Of late years, however, much has been done to put cricket in the University on a wider basis. The centre now provided by the Parks, with the new Pavilion, is a very different thing from those scattered and remote grounds with which, until recently, the cricketing world of Oxford had to be content. Now almost every match of any importance brings crowds together. Lovers of cricket, whether adepts or duffers, can all meet and watch and

discuss their favourite sport in the precincts of the Pavilion or amid the pleasant surroundings of the Parks. Again, the subject of cricket at Oxford from its social side would not be complete if some allusion were not made to those occasional matches that form one of its important features. Such are the rustic games played against neighbouring villages, and such the foreign matches played against schools and similar institutions by old public school men or individual Colleges. In these cases the team is collected and the match is played by a circle of friends animated and inspired as much by their social as by their purely cricketing instincts. The result of all this is that cricket is becoming much more what rowing long has been, a thoroughly University pursuit,—tending to unite different sets of men and mould them into the homogeneous mass of College life.

The criticism passed above upon Cricket as distinguished from Rowing, applies with equal or greater force to Athletics, Hunting, and Football, though perhaps less markedly so in the case of the latter. Those who go in for Athletics form but a fraction of each individual College, and, as a rule, the leading athletic lights are trained and known before they come up to the University. Thus Athletics play a very small part in the social life of any one College by itself—such effect as they do have in this direction being practically confined to the one or two days which most Colleges devote to their athletic sports. Then, it is true, the bulk of the College is gathered together for nominally athletic but really social purposes, and then they exhibit the individual skill, or rather, the general want of skill, of their members in the different forms of athletic effort. In short, the athletes of the University do not form an important element in any one College by itself, but, gathered together from the different Colleges, they are a considerable and well-known part of that social aristocracy of Oxford which centres at Vincents, and, to a certain extent, looks

down on those who from circumstances or inclination have either been unable or unwilling to join that select circle.

Hunting and riding are, it appears, a declining element in Oxford life, and, with a few scattered exceptions in other Colleges, are now almost confined to Christchurch men. The reason of this is of course partly the want of means on the part of the ordinary undergraduate to indulge in an expensive sport. Another cause is, however, of a deeper character. Whereas fifty years ago the Aristocratic or Country Gentleman class formed the chief, or at anyrate the most important, constituent in Oxford, now it forms a comparatively unimportant element. The result has been that riding and hunting are no longer the natural pursuits of any large number of Oxford undergraduates, and consequently there is little tendency for the mass to go in for them from the force of example or custom. Another result is that the hunting set tends more and more to keep to itself, to live a life apart from ordinary Oxford life, and to obtain its society in more or less exclusive clubs such as Bullingdon, Loders, and one or two other College clubs (as at Merton and B. N. C.) which still carry on the tradition of the time when their respective Colleges were mainly collections of sporting public school men. This decline of Hunting is perhaps a misfortune, for it implied energy and enterprise in those who thus amused themselves, while many of the sports that have succeeded to, or taken its place, are less energetic, and call for less individual enterprise and self-reliance. Besides this, there was among hunting men a camaraderie, a perfection of social intercourse, and an intensity of living which are not so entirely produced by some of the sports and pastimes which now engross the undergraduate attention.

To this, however, as to other rules, there are exceptions, and that species of athletic pursuit which has filled the place of Hunting in the autumn and spring terms is by no means deficient in many of the good points of Hunting,

while it is free from most of its objectionable elements, such as expense and waste of time. Whereas Football fifty years ago was practically unknown at Oxford, and regarded as a school-boy's game, to be cast off like a school-boy's discipline by the University man, it is now a recognised and very popular institution for a large proportion of every College during the winter terms. In its different forms of Rugby or Association, it excites much interest as well in the University as in the town. But what is perhaps more to the purpose, it also affords amusement and exercise and the attendant social amenities for the multitude of folk who either despise or are despised by their rowing brethren, who cannot afford or have not the wish to hunt, and who require more violent and more exciting recreation than the afternoon's walk of the reading man or loafer. Football has the further advantage of bringing together men who hail from different schools, and thus tends to break down the walls of public school caste, not to mention the opportunity it gives for Colleges to know and intermingle with each other, and in this it seems to be, after Rowing, the pursuit most truly representative of modern social life at Oxford.

The chief pastimes of Oxford have now been discussed, and it remains to consider the occupation of those who either care for none of them, or, if they do, think they are better avoided. Of such men there are many types, and they hold aloof for many reasons. As a rule, they are classed by their more enthusiastic fellows as loafers or reading-men, and like many other expressions of public opinion, this one fairly hits the mark. There is a class of loafers, *pur sang*, who are constitutionally unable to energise in any direction, and such a class, if found in any numbers, is an unmitigated evil in a College, for which it usually heralds a temporary decadence. But there are loafers and loafers. Some make themselves such from a consciousness, well enough founded, that hard work in

every direction is not possible for many men, and probably bad for all but a very few. These men loaf in such wise as their bent directs for exercise' sake, and their social life centres round their work. To this class belong the bulk of the more studiously inclined, and those, too, who have ideals, social, literary, or otherwise, which they consider as of equal, if not superior, importance to the routine work of the schools. This class, however, gradually melts into, and is not clearly defined from, those who find they can combine hard and steady reading with fairly keen devotion to one or other of the different sports. The result of this is that in many Colleges there is little marked distinction between what are usually described as reading and non-reading men. In fact, in many Colleges there is no hard and fast line between these different types, and wherever this is most the case (which it tends to be in different Colleges at different times), the perfection of Oxford social life is found. In these cases the hard worker enjoys the society of his more sporting fellow, and is prevented from being engrossed and narrowed by his own occupations; while the athlete comes to see that a man may be intellectual and a hard worker, and yet quite capable of appreciating and often taking a foremost part in pursuits which the former might otherwise regard as peculiarly his own. The other class of loafers, who are such by nature, are a more difficult type to criticise, and their place in the social life of the University is a more difficult one to estimate. It is the fashion to condemn them wholesale, but such an attitude towards them would seem to be both unfair and inconsistent with the general tolerance so cultivated at Oxford. The truth is, that though many of this class are poor specimens, some of them, on the other hand, have been formed by circumstances which as yet they have not had time to control. They are still in a half-developed state, from which, in their proper season, they will emerge into spheres of energy and individual action never dreamed

of, and quite unexpected by many of their former critics. All University men must have in their recollection instances of this type of undergraduate, and on looking back they must feel that such individuals played an important, though often a silent and unobtrusive, part in the social life of their time, while they were hardly deserving of the contempt felt for them by their more active brethren.

This review which we have just completed of the chief sports and pastimes that form the recreation of an Oxford undergraduate, leaves us now free to discuss the other occupations and pursuits of a purely social or semi-intellectual character to which he devotes the rest of his leisure time. For though there are several other games, such as Fives, Racquets, and Tennis, which have their special followers, these have little to do with Oxford life in its social aspect. They are rather the amusements of individuals than a part of the social life of the University, and as such they are foreign to our subject.

In dealing with the purely social or semi-intellectual life at Oxford, the different types of men who come up to the University have to be considered from their social and intellectual side, to see how their varying tastes find expression in Social, Political, or Literary Clubs; to show, in short, how they spend their evenings, and generally that part of the day which is not devoted to actual reading or to play. There are many different sets into which by nature or accident a man may be thrust, differing from the divisions mentioned above, which mainly depend on the particular form of athletics, or want of athletics, to which he may be attached. These depend rather on the individuality of each undergraduate, the associations he brings up with him, the men with whom he first comes in contact, the general tone of the College to which he goes, and the kind of dons under whose influence he may fall. The majority of men come up to the University with no fixed ideas of any sort, except that they will be free from the restrictions of

school life, that they will be able to work or idle at their will, see more of the world, and, in general, have a good time. The freshness of life is upon them; they are not troubled by any sense of responsibility; they are not trammelled by irksome rules that must be kept; they are not, as yet, oppressed by the looming prospect of how they shall make their way in life; and they do not look on the education they are approaching as other than a certain amount of work to be got through with the minimum amount of labour, and perhaps some honour to themselves. If they have any special bent, it is rather to social success in their respective Colleges, or to a pre-eminence in their favourite athletic pursuit equal to a greater than they have obtained at school: to attain, in short, the enviable position they see occupied by older friends of their own—of being among the most popular men of their time, with all the glamour that such a reputation invariably has for most school-boys. Of any definite ideals of work or life the average undergraduate is, as a rule, devoid, very often to his advantage, and nearly always to his mental comfort, and to his success as a social being among his fellows. This general characteristic in the freshman is, however, susceptible of many variations. There is a vast difference between the men from different schools and those from no school at all—a difference caused for the most part by the traditions or circumstances which have hitherto influenced them, and by the amount of individual freedom they have till now enjoyed. In some schools the discipline is so strict that the first feeling of the undergraduate fresh from its toils, is one of freedom, often temporarily degenerating into licence. In others the freedom enjoyed is so great that the University can give little more, and is, in fact, only another stage in the life of those who come from a school of this kind. To many of those who have been to no school at all, or to a small one, their matriculation is like the entrance into a new world, with

an effect intoxicating alike to their emotions and to their intellect. There is, however, a large and probably a growing class who come to Oxford with different views—who are, in fact, older both morally and intellectually than those last mentioned. Such men naturally take a more sober view of their change of life; they come to it with more definite plans, intellectual or practical, according to the bent of their minds and the necessity of their individual circumstances, but in either case with a clear idea that they are now preparing for their future, and about to form the mental and moral habit which will mould their life in the world. In these again, as in the former class, the clearness with which they realise this, and accordingly fit themselves for their various lives, depends greatly on the place whence they have come. The young man who comes from a Scotch University, or the youth who comes fresh from some small district in which he was a leading spirit, has much clearer ideas of what he wants and what he thinks than the public school boy, whose life has been far less introspective and probably far more comfortable. The latter has, however, the advantage of a wider field of experience, and is better able to judge of the relative value of the men he meets and the things to which he finds he has to set his hand.

The above analysis of the mental types of those who come up to Oxford, gives the key to the very different forms of social life which are to be found throughout the University, and even in a single College. It shows why some men at once fall into a purely sporting set founded on the circle of intimates who have come up together—why others form intellectual coteries often as exclusive and as contemptuous of the rest of the College as such sporting sets tend to be—and why others again fall into no definite set, but remain more in harmony with their College as a whole. The social side of University life is, in fact, a curious tissue of sets and clubs

woven upon a general framework of College life. To give, therefore, a true picture of this varied life, one must not confine oneself to a description of the different clubs, social or otherwise; but first of all one must pass in review the wider general society of a College, which is more or less independent of all such clubs and societies. For there is a good deal of informal social intercourse which forms far too large and important a part of University life to be passed over in silence. It is often much mixed up with the different College and University Clubs; but it is at the same time independent of, and must be distinguished from, them. Clubs and societies exist for special purposes, and consist of particular sets. They are also, with the exception of the Union, comparatively small collections of men. Yet the mass of the members of every College, as well as the Unattached, have much mutual society, and indulge in a considerable amount of mutual hospitality which must not be overlooked. It is this intercourse, quite as much as the influence of more prominent clubs and societies, which forms the true social life at Oxford; and it will therefore be well, before describing the different clubs and their development, to dwell for a while on what may be called the more universal and less formal part of undergraduate intercourse.

On his coming into residence the freshman speedily finds himself launched into the general society of his College by frequent invitations to breakfast, lunch, or wine. It is usually considered by the senior men incumbent on them to do something in this way to help the freshman over his first few weeks, and though, of course, many men are led to offer those forms of hospitality to new comers with whom they are already acquainted, or about whom they already know something, yet there is a general tendency to ask any or all freshmen, even though they be perfect strangers to their host. These forms of hospitality are not, however, confined to freshmen; they form the ordinary

and regular means by which the undergraduate who wishes to mix with his fellows obtains their society and his own amusement. The particular kind of hospitality which a man will adopt depends mostly on the custom of his particular College, a custom which of course varies from time to time. In some cases they are set invitations, in others they are more or less impromptu, and often they assume the form of a common breakfast or lunch, when each individual instructs his scout to serve his "commons" with those of his friends in one particular room. These unpremeditated collections of undergraduates for breakfast and lunch are among the most pleasant forms which Oxford society assumes, and do more than anything to promote a thorough intimacy between those who thus unite. The only objection to them is that men tend, naturally enough, to fall into a groove, and to confine themselves, in these common meals, to a particular circle of friends, which after a while hardens into a set, that growth of all things most hostile to the true well-being of a College. It would be impossible to enter into a full account of all the varieties of entertainment which come under the category of breakfast or lunch, and, if it were possible, such account would be wearisome. It will probably be best, therefore, to pass on to describe some of the more general forms of College entertainments. These, comprising as they do the whole or large sections of the College, are more intimately connected with the general social life than the smaller fortuitous collections of individuals to which we have already alluded.

First, by right of seniority—if not by that of respectability—comes the wine. This essentially University function may range from a bump supper or an ordinary College common room to the more moderate proportions of a feast of Bacchus given by some enterprising or popular undergraduate in his own rooms to his particular friends, or to any acquaintance who may like to come. The first of these

species of entertainment has decreased in popularity and been much discouraged of recent years. The tendency towards decorum, so marked a feature in modern Oxford, and perhaps the leaven of Temperance reform that pervades the society, of which Oxford is after all only the microcosm, is against such primitive and savage forms of entertainment as the old Bump Supper. Thus of late such feasts have been few and far between. Their function has been filled by the more spirited College Bonfire or Rag, or may be a College Ball. These are the social equivalents which now celebrate the triumphs, athletic or otherwise, which of old were mostly consummated by the Bump Supper. The strong meat and drink of our forebears has given way to the momentary paroxysm of licensed excitement or the well-regulated pleasure that is respectively shown in a Bonfire, or obtained from a College Ball. This is no doubt as it should be, but some old heathens have probably a lingering regret for the antique and savage custom of a feast following hard exertion—a feast to be shared by all who pleased to come, and celebrated with enthusiasm, if not abandon, by the members of a triumphant College. At such relics of this noble past as have remained till recent years, many curious sights have been witnessed. The elegantly attired guest has come back a tattered and excited being; the fellow-athlete of another College, wild with sympathetic enthusiasm, has braved the jealousy of the College he visits, and the wrath of its dons in his berserk fury, and has occasionally paid the penalty for this touch of atavism by a temporary removal from the scenes of his prowess. Mercury in Christchurch and the Nose of B. N. C. have been put to other uses than were perhaps intended for those ornamental features by their respective authors, while the beautifully-kept grass of New College or Magdalen has been treated with scant respect. Most men will probably be loth to defend the Bump Supper, but many will secretly regret it. They will feel that the lusty

undergraduate must have some outlet for his stalled energy, and they know that much pleasant converse, much good fellowship, much kindling of enthusiasm, and little permanent harm were produced by these feasts of unreason. But they are doomed and dying fast, and it is useless to sing a lengthy dirge. The other functions of a similar kind are in a different state. The College wine in a more orderly and regular form is to be found in the Junior Common Rooms now possessed and elaborated by several Colleges. These are fruitful grounds for social intercourse, pleasant means of entertainment without too severely taxing a host's purse, fine fields for rubbing off prejudice and shyness by enforced contiguity with men from whom one might otherwise feel inclined to hold aloof, and excellent places for levelling up and down and communicating a good and easy standard of manners. At them there is little danger of excess, and if they be sometimes stiff, what else can be expected from a fortuitous assemblage of undergraduates of opposite tastes, various antecedents, and alternate modesty and bumptiousness? The private wine is on a different footing. It is essentially a social gathering, and a gathering of friends who, for the most part, know each other well. It may be only nominally a wine, and actually a mutual smoke and talk, or it may be a more regular symposium mixed with cards and music. In either case it contains that which is the kernel of Oxford life—the pleasure of being together and discussing with one's friends whatever is nearest to one's heart, whether athletics, literature, or social philosophy. At some private wines there is of course a certain amount of excess, and at some there is very high play. But in speaking of modern Oxford one can say with truth that the former is very rare while the latter is sporadic and mainly confined to small cliques which occasionally spring up in every College, but seldom last long in the face of that disapprobation of reckless gambling which is characteristic of Oxford society at the present time. A

kindred form of entertainment is to be found in the late suppers which take the place of the regular hall dinner in the summer term—fit ending to an afternoon spent on the river, or to a rustic cricket match against some neighbouring village. These suppers are redolent with all that is most characteristic of Oxford life, bringing together as they do heterogeneous elements, sharpening the wit of those who join in them, and calling forth the latent social and intellectual power of many who would otherwise remain in the shell of their retirement. Very similar to them, but generally the development of the later years of an undergraduate's life, are the small dinners or gatherings to smoke and talk after dinner, which beguile the evenings of fourth-year men when they have left the College precincts and gone to the comparative isolation of lodgings. There they continue the social intercourse, the free discussion, and the mutual interchange of ideas, begun in the earlier years of their College life, but now tending more and more to be mixed up with the work of the particular school for which they are reading. Thus that general acquaintance with the mass of the College which characterises the beginnings of an Oxford course gradually hardens into the social eclecticism which forms a circle of congenial spirits and ultimately a still smaller circle of fast and life-long friends —that production which is often the chief tangible result of University life.

Closely connected with these impromptu gatherings are permanent clubs and societies, whether for purely social or partly intellectual purposes, which are now to be found in almost every College. It might be thought that only the former were germane to our subject; but this is not so, for the Essay, the Shakespeare, or the Debating society is as much a part of the social life of those who belong to them as the Wine-Club, with its regular meetings and old-fashioned customs. Of late years there has been a tendency for debating societies to arise in almost every College, in some

cases as common or open to all, in others as gatherings of individuals gradually extending their numbers and influence. Probably none of them attain much excellence in debate, for of their members some are apt to desert them for pronounced political clubs—such as the Palmerston and Canning—while others prefer to reserve their powers of speech for the weekly debates at the Union. Still this ubiquitous growth of debating societies is a distinct characteristic of modern Oxford, and no slight means for fostering intercourse between the heterogeneous elements of the large numbers of freshmen that come up every year. Another favourite kind of society is that which meets together to read the plays of Shakespeare or some other standard author, and which often comprises among its members many individuals that also belong to other College societies. In fact, a large College provides ample material for several such clubs, while the numbers of each are limited by the size of the rooms in which they meet. Another reason for their variety is to be found in the preference of certain minds for debate, and of others for some more purely literary form of entertainment; and a third in the natural tendency of all undergraduates to support and foster the particular society into which chance or taste has thrust him as against all rival institutions. The literary element in the University has yet another outlet in the various Essay societies which are to be found in almost every College. Some of these derive their names from some "great one" whose personality kindled the enthusiasm of their founders; but whether they have some such special name, or are merely known as the College Essay Society, their aim and object is the same—the periodical meeting at which each member in turn reads an essay on some literary subject, which is then discussed. All of them have a distinct social character, though professing a literary object. This result can, indeed, hardly fail to be produced by the constant meeting of their members, and by the interchange of views on every

possible subject, combined with mild refection to ease the flow of ideas. But as if to guard against the danger of the social element being swamped by the stern[er] intellectual or literary part of these institutions, many o[f] them complete their session by a purely social dinner, at which old members and occasional dons assist, with eq[ual] freedom and pleasure to all who are present.

From the social side of an Essay Soci[ety] to the purely social Wine-Club is not a long step for those who may chance to have been acquainted with both, though to the outside world they may seem to be very different things. But this close connection is one of the contradictions of Oxford life, and arises from the fact that undergraduates are gregarious and love the society of their fellows. Whether their tastes are intellectual or convivial, and whether in consequence they seek to join a notable Essay Society or a popular Wine-Club, is after all a matter of unimportance compared with the fact that either or both of these will afford means for that social intercourse which they desire.

The Wine-Clubs are not what they were. Instead of being the chief form of social entertainment in their respective Colleges, and indeed in the whole University, they are rather the social anachronism of the day. Few, if any, new ones have of late years been started, for the feeling in most Colleges is against them as being out of keeping with the more democratic character of modern Oxford, and inimical to the general development and harmony of College life. Those that are still in existence are in most cases of considerable antiquity; they are fenced about with a good deal of quaint custom and a fair share of formality, and their members are adorned by a distinguishing coat of particular pattern, which is the heritage of nearly every one of them. These clubs are very pleasant places at which to spend an evening, but after the first novel sensations of strangeness which they produce, they tend to become irksome from the

continued round of formalities, and the often ill-assorted character of those who compose them. Though they try to recruit their members from the best men of the year, and to form a sort of inner society to give tone to the rest of the College, it is doubtful if they succeed in the latter object, and probable that, as regards the former, it is not the best but the more pushing and showy elements that they attract and receive into their exclusive circles. Of course, in some cases, very pleasant and intimate little groups of friends are formed and kept up by these Wine-Clubs, which then afford a centre of hospitality for men of their own and other Colleges. But even then these clubs show the weakness of their class—the tendency to hold aloof from and look down on the society of the rest of their College; a result not very satisfactory in itself and hardly illustrative of particularly good taste or that high social standard which they are supposed to set up.

Besides these various types of College clubs and societies, there are several other institutions at Oxford which are common to the University at large, and these, from their bearing on the general society of Oxford, form one of the most important parts of our subject. Those that affect undergraduates are either social or political, or, like the Union, a combination of both. The purely Social Clubs which are open to the whole University are practically three in number—Vincents, the Gridiron, and the Dramatic Club; of these, the two latter are of comparatively recent growth, originating, however, in different ways. The Gridiron was started to provide a dining club, and to meet a want only partially satisfied by Vincents; for this latter has long been primarily athletic, and is not easily accessible to those who have no particular bent in that direction. There was also a feeling that some other social club was needed as a sort of set-off to the somewhat exclusive tendencies of Vincents. The Gridiron has on the whole been a success and filled the gap it was meant to fill with-

out, however, as yet, seriously threatening the position held by Vincents, of being the premier Social Club of the University.

The Dramatic Club is a still newer growth, born in what may be called the dramatic revival of Oxford, and intimately connected with the birth of the new theatre and the impetus given to amateur theatricals by the open approval and support of the Master of Balliol when Vice-Chancellor. It affords a pleasant relief from the very athletic tone of Vincents, and a contrast to the more humdrum character of the Gridiron, comprising among its members from time to time the more original and intelligent of the social leaders of the University.

Of Vincents little need be said. It has now been so long in existence and so mixed up with the social life of succeeding generations at Oxford, that its position is well established, and its membership an honour coveted by most undergraduates who regard popularity and social success as important parts of their University life. From being originally an inter-college club founded by University and B. N. C., when these two Colleges were the leading ones in Oxford, it is now, and for some years has been, the club for all distinguished athletes and the most popular men from every College—for those, in short, who are supposed to be the most clubbable people of their time. The part it plays in Oxford social life is very considerable, affording as it does a place where men can meet and talk and dine with others from different Colleges, where they can entertain their friends with greater freedom and more taste than in their College halls, and where they can mix with the more stirring and probably the most grown-up elements in the University. What it lacks is the intellectual and reading element *per se*. This want makes it too much of an athletic clique, and too little representative of University life as a whole. It does, of course, always contain within its members some of the ablest men of the day, but it has

them by accident, or because they are also leading athletes or personally popular, and not because they represent what is best in the intellectual or reading line.

Before we come to discuss the Union, the largest and most comprehensive of Oxford societies, a few words may be said of one or two other clubs which are open to the whole University, and of considerable note in themselves. Political clubs have existed in Oxford for many years, but they are probably more full of life and ability now than they used to be. The Palmerston and Canning, the Chatham and Russell—not to mention others more recently started—have for some years gathered into their fold the budding politicians and a large proportion of the ability of Oxford. Their weekly meetings generally produce good and sometimes very excellent papers on some subject of general interest, while their debates show originality and a delightfully wide range of political and social views. It is not, however, as political clubs, but as social gatherings, that they call for attention here. This latter feature is present in them always, but to what extent depends greatly on the energy and skill of their President or Secretary for the time. They always, however, contribute in no small degree, from their custom of meeting in the rooms of different members, to mutual intercourse between men of different Colleges, and to an interchange of views and hospitality often edifying, sometimes instructive, and nearly always amusing, from the delightful mixture that they afford of the serious and mirth-loving elements of undergraduate life. Their annual dinners serve the purpose of bringing their members in contact with the senior Oxford society on one hand, and the political and social elements of the outside world on the other, besides taxing the energies and opening the minds of those unfortunates who have to arrange these feasts.

Of other University institutions, Bullingdon and the Eton Club are the most interesting. The former, at one

time the leading social club in Oxford, has now abdicated that position in favour of Vincents, and is mostly confined to Christchurch men. Still it serves an interesting social purpose in occasionally admitting outsiders to its orderly though festive dinners, in exhibiting on a few favoured individuals a becoming costume, and generally in affording to the young undergraduate an idea of *La Haute Société*. Among its actual members it is, like many of the other clubs, an exceedingly popular institution, which, though a trifle exclusive, has helped them to form and keep a circle of friends, and which leaves in after years pleasant reminiscences of pleasant evenings spent together.

The Eton Club is unique in its way. Though other school clubs have existed for a time, and one or two have flourished for some years, borne on by the traditions and loyalty of the old public school men who form them, none except the Winchester and Eton Clubs have had an uninterrupted prosperity. Of these, the former is the smaller and the less important. It is by no means the rule that all Winchester men at Oxford should join it. In fact, many of the sons of St Mary Winton never become members, and, consequently, though it contains from time to time many leading Wykehamists, it cannot be said to represent with any thoroughness the Winchester element of the day. But while thus limited in its composition it is a very social body, all the more so from its small numbers; and there is more mutual acquaintance and more of the essence of club life among its thirty or forty members than is to be found in the Eton Club, though thrice as large. Still this latter is the typical public school club of the University, containing as it does practically every Etonian who comes to Oxford. This feature of the Eton Club is interesting, as it shows that two-sided character which distinguishes most Eton men at Oxford. On the one hand, as Etonians, they have a right, and are in honour bound, to belong to the Eton Club, to which, therefore, they belong,

and in which they can always find a comfortable place to rest. On the other hand, the weak side of the Oxford Etonian comes out—the capacity to belong to a club, and yet feel no desire to know the rest of its members. Most curious is this characteristic, and much laughed at in the University. In fact, it is often said, "You go into the Eton Club, and no one speaks to anyone else; no ragging is there allowed, no noisy good fellowship, nothing but strict decorum which looks askance at those bolder spirits who try to break through its starched sobriety." Still, beneath this dull and dignified demeanour, the Eton Club has a latent force of social life which forms a permanent bond between Etonians, past, present, and future; and every now and then there is a sort of social revival, when its members break through the walls of their exclusive shyness and try to instil a little life into its inert mass. Then it performs a real social function, is a centre for much that is best in the more well-to-do element in Oxford, enlivens the Summer Term with an excellent Ball, and shows, in a way specially its own, how to combine the Athletic, the Literary, and the purely Social parts of the University into a social whole, bound together and mutually inspired by the common love of the school to which they belonged, and from which they obtained such a good start in their University life.

Now let us turn to that opposite pole of Oxford society —the Union—that great creation originating in the dialectical instinct inborn in the English type, and now developed by the democratic tendency which is rapidly becoming its second nature. What the Union was in its first inception is hard to realise from its present state. When Mr Gladstone visited it two years ago (in 1890), he probably hardly recognised in its latter-day development the debating society of his Oxford days. Originally this and this alone, it has now become a vast club, only given to debate as a sort of *πάρεργον*, and as a justification for its existence to the

outside world. Yet it was as a debating society, and the only University debating society, that the Union won its fame and is known to the world at large. Its other sides, and they are many, are only known to those who have belonged to it, and little known to many of them. It is "The Club" for that large majority of undergraduates who belong not to Vincents or Loders, and have no part in Bullingdon or the Eton Club. To these it is the recreation ground for their afternoons and evenings, the place where they can write and smoke, play chess and billiards, read books and occasionally indulge their taste for public speaking. It is the prototype of the vast hotel-like clubs which of late years have grown out of the older London club-life. It is the living protest of the many that they, too, are social beings, capable of enjoying the pleasures and using the facilities afforded by clubs, but hitherto more exclusively the privilege of the few. Who that has watched the constant stream at the telegram board in the Union, studying the very miscellaneous information there furnished, or the frequenters of smoke-rooms and writing-rooms, or the goodly numbers who use its magnificent library, can fail to feel that there is to be found the true social life of Oxford, the life that really determines Oxford character, and will in time reflect its influence on the world outside? What have the smaller University clubs, the thirty or forty constant *habitués* of Vincents, the few dozen that frequent the Eton Club, or grace the occasional dinners of Bullingdon, to compare with the phalanx of undergraduates from all schools and no school, of all nationalities and the most varied types, who daily and hourly throng the halls of the Union? The man who painfully and carefully studies his hobby in the Library, or gathers around him his companions in the smoke-room, or he who forms a clique at the weekly debates, is as much a social power, from the influence he has on his fellows, as the leaders of the smaller clubs, however select. The Union at Oxford is progressive, and

exhibits the characteristics of progressism. While the other clubs are deferential, it is exacting, towards the ruling committee. Its officers are really elected, while theirs are the nominees of their predecessors. The Union is enthusiastic over and inclined to make heroes of its favourites; the other clubs either have no heroes, or if they have, they regard them with critical eyes. It quickly forgets its leading lights, and if, after a year or two's interval, they return for a visit, it will not know them: in the other clubs, however, the social continuity is long preserved. The Union is ever ready for venturesome experiments, and boldly optimistic in counting the cost; the other clubs either barely pay their way, or, fearful of some wave of adversity, shrink from any change that may mortgage their resources. But with all this wealth of semi-club life and social relation that marks the Union as it now is, its character as a debating society is still kept up. The debates are always fairly popular, and generally well attended. Indeed, when any burning question of the day, or any popular speaker is to the fore, its halls are crowded and the most carping critic could not say that the interest in its debates had fallen off. For then, not only is the body of the Hall crammed with an eager and excited crowd of members, but the galleries as well are packed by Oxford residents of either sex, who are eager to see what the Union is like, and to hear what the Union can say. The subjects, however, that now attract the largest audience are not any fine questions of dialectics, nor yet any practical point of politics. It is some burning, though trivial, question of the moment, some crying social evil, or a party vote of confidence, which best fills the Hall. This taste in subjects shows, too, the character of the modern Union debates. They are not means of exchanging views, or arguing different sides to a question, so much as opportunities for painting in eloquent terms a social evil, for enforcing the virtues of one, or the vices of another party, and for

clothing the chief speakers in the glamour of reflected glory from the skill with which they treat their subjects. As a result, the debates tend to become a mere *tour de force* between two or at most four party giants of opposing camps, and then to collapse from the want of real interest in the subjects discussed. In this the Union is, after all, only the reflex of ordinary English politics, which it unconsciously imitates; it is in fact the index of the tendency now patent in political life to think far more of the speaker than of what he says, or the subject with which he deals.

In making the Union the last of our pictures of Oxford social life, our object has been to focus the attention of our readers on the characteristics of modern Oxford, for in no set and in no club are these characteristics, with their tone and tendencies, more markedly shown than in that great panorama of graduate and undergraduate life which the Union unfolds.

We have now reviewed the different sports and pastimes, and discussed the clubs and societies which, with his work, fill up the life and occupy the attention of an Oxford undergraduate. We have, therefore, come to the end of the first and far the largest part of our subject, for the social life of Oxford is composed of, and is to be seen in all these forms of activity which have now been described. It remains to consider the whole subject from a general point of view, and in doing this it becomes apparent that Oxford life is many-sided, and that it is difficult to pick out any special features to be taken as characteristic.

In the first place, however, one sees that the whole character of Oxford society is greatly affected by the different views held by different types of men, of their relation to their University and College. Some men are self-centred, and their whole course at Oxford is affected thereby. Such men may be wrapt up in either their books, their sports, or their own little circle of friends. Whichever of these attract them, depends of course on the bent

of their mind, but in each case the result is the same—they are indifferent to their fellows and surroundings except in so far as affects their own convenience. These men represent the selfish side of Oxford life, and do not assist the harmony or prosperity of the College to which they belong. Other men, again, are practical. They take life as it comes, and are ready to enter into anything, whether sport or work or College society, with zest and energy, so long as it affords proper scope for their efforts. They regard themselves as part of their College, as owing certain duties to it, just as they gain many benefits from it. They may not have any high ideals, and they may not look very far beyond themselves, but they do a great deal for College and University life. It is they who especially form the social life of Oxford, for they prevent it from becoming a collection of small sets, each occupied with its own affairs and utterly indifferent to anything else. There is a third class of men, who may be called the idealising element in the University. These have ideas of what a University ought to be, and they attempt to give effect to these ideas in their work, their amusements, and the different forms of social intercourse which they adopt. They also help to keep up the social spirit and homogeneity of the University, and in return are very much affected in their after-life by the reacting effect that their Oxford training has had on them. As workers in some East end parish, as professional or business men, they retain the enthusiasm and belief in their ideals which have been developed by their Oxford life, and thus they unconsciously pass on the tone they have themselves received. Oxford is not now what it once was, the training ground of the aristocracy of the country. It is not even the nursery of the upper classes as such; it is rather the meeting ground of many classes, the furnace that blends them into a sort of social amalgam in which the constituents, though losing many of their peculiarities and gaining a common type of character, still retain their indi-

viduality and their natural affinities. Hence it is that Oxford on its social side is so much of a leveller, so democratic (if one may use the word) in its tone, so thoroughly in touch with all classes and all schemes, however apparently inferior or however seemingly wild. Oxford society is on the whole anything but exclusive. Some sets there are of exclusive tendencies, but the generality of undergraduates do not regard themselves as any better than their fellows. It is also very enthusiastic and patriotic; a few individuals may be entirely wrapt up in themselves and their own affairs, and regard their College and all its doings as rather a bore. Such are, however, the exception, and most men are as loyal to their College and as eager to help its prosperity as they are proud of its success. There is much sympathy with and interest in the concerns of others, and as a result any movement, whether social or otherwise, and any scheme, whether confined to the University or extending outside, is pretty sure to fascinate the attention and obtain the support of the youth of Oxford. Some pedantry and a disproportionate idea of his own importance are doubtless to be found in the Oxford undergraduate, and, to a certain extent, affect his social relations. Such traits, however, are the necessary result of his existence, isolated as it is from outside influences, and rapidly disappear in the altered conditions and wider circumstances of his after-life. Modern Oxford society has one characteristic not usually found in those of similar age, whose lot has not brought them to a University: its moral tone is decidedly high. The reason is, perhaps, not far to seek, for the surroundings, the constant round of occupation, and the freedom from dangerous temptations, all combine to keep up in the undergraduate that generally high standard of morality with which he starts. There must be, however, some further reason for this comparatively high tone; for the general opinion — undoubtedly true as regards many Colleges — would seem to be, that the present undergraduate has a

higher standard of morals than those of past generations. This further reason is probably to be found in the perfection of College social life, which makes men regard themselves as parts of a corporate whole, and so mutually inspires them with higher ideals; and this perfection of social life is distinctly a feature of modern as opposed to ancient Oxford.

It is mutual tolerance, however,—and tolerance of every kind—that is the chief characteristic of Oxford social life. Some intellectual intolerance there may be, but this soon passes away in the face of the different kinds of knowledge it elsewhere meets. Tolerance in Religion also cannot fail to be produced by the freedom of opinion taught and expressed by dons and undergraduates alike. Tolerance in Political matters cannot but result from the constant discussion of the most opposite and extreme views and theories that is ever going on in University circles. Some social intolerance is to be found, but this rarely survives the three or four years spent in the College walls, and turns to a friendly recognition that others not educated at Oxford or public schools are as good as those who have had this training. In fact, tolerance in social matters must be caused by the diverse types of men that are brought into contact with each other, and by the opportunities that all must get of despising the exclusive conceit of one set as much as the awkward jealousy of another.

Give and take, live and let live, criticise and be criticised, —these are the watchwords of modern Oxford; and the man who can pass through his University life without feeling the effect of these Oxford lessons, must be a social and intellectual hermit, or a social and intellectual fool.

J. S. G. P.

Chapter VI.

RELIGIOUS LIFE AT OXFORD.

THE "religious life" of Oxford is a subject which may be treated from many points of view; a short introductory paragraph will serve to indicate the mode in which it will be treated here. The present position of religion in Oxford cannot be understood without some slight acquaintance with the ecclesiastical and educational forces which were stirring the University some thirty or forty years ago; and a brief historical notice of these will occupy the first section. The second will endeavour to present a picture of the religious life of an undergraduate as it is, and has been during the last fifteen or twenty years: the University influences brought to bear upon him in and out of College, the Churches he frequents, and the leaders by whom he is most attracted. It will only remain to note in a last section some of the influences which have most recently moulded the religious life of Oxford, and are likely to possess yet more strength in the future.

I.

The secession of Dr Newman in 1845, and still more the secessions which followed the Gorham Judgment in 1851, were at the moment paralysing to the Churchmen of the University. There was a great lull in controversy; the ecclesiastical side of questions was no longer that which forced itself to the front on every occasion. So far this was well; whichever side we take in the religious dispute,

we cannot deny the urgent need there was of reform in almost all parts of the University system. The first Commission had inaugurated its work by 1850; and the party of Educational Reform was eager for action.

Of the discontent of this party, and of their aims and inspirations, we gain an interesting glimpse in Mark Pattison's "Memoirs." The tone of the book is disagreeable, and it has, therefore, not been quite so widely read perhaps as it deserves; but it gives us a very vivid picture of the dislike felt for the Oxford of the Tractarians, by one who delighted to call himself a "Humanist," and who was certainly animated by a more than common bitterness toward theologians. A note of grim triumph runs through all Pattison's reflections at this period. "The ecclesiastics are cleared out of the way; at last, we can realise the idea of a University devoted solely to knowledge and research; and our motto shall be *Vae Victis*." That is the unmistakable spirit of what he says, and there is some reason to fear that it was the spirit, not only of his own party, but *mutatis mutandis* of some of his antagonists. At least, it is a little difficult for us now to understand the fierce passions which seem to have raged on both sides over questions of a purely educational character. However that may be, the "Humanists," or anti-ecclesiastical party, were "in," and they made copious use of their power. The effect of their work has been to sever all but the most formal connection of the University with the Church of England. The Heads of Houses still attend in state to hear sermons at St Mary's; Colleges must still possess, at least, one "Chaplin-Fellow;" in short, the official Christianity, so far as it exists, is Anglican. But the "Test Acts" have been swept away; no sort of religious profession is demanded of intending students; Fellowships and Scholarships may be held by persons of any, or of no denomination; attendance at roll call may often be substituted for attendance at early chapel; there is a strong

tendency to elect laymen to be Heads of Colleges. It is, perhaps, no wonder that old Oxford men, contemplating an Oxford thus turned topsy-turvy, should shake the dust from their feet, and depart anathematising the modern spirit, and its incarnation, Mr Gladstone. The Oxford they knew—the Oxford of Laud—is no more.

But Laud was himself a great University reformer; and it is possible that were he living now, he would be less alarmed than some of those who swear by his name. It is very easy to exaggerate what has been done. It amounts in fact to this, that the Anglican Church is no longer in sole possession of the ground. She has position, prestige, emolument, but not monopoly. Yet it may be reasonably doubted whether, at any time during the last three hundred years, the Church of England has had adherents among the undergraduates more numerous, more devoted, and more instructed than now. If we are to believe the records of the early part of this century, for instance, we cannot make an instant's comparison between the dead-alive state of Anglicanism in Oxford then and its vigorous and healthy life to-day. It cannot be said that *practically* the restriction of the Church's privileges has done her anything but good. She has had to come out and fight in the open, and she bids fair to win the battle. Nor is it a small thing that she is still the "official" religious teacher of the Colleges and the University; her influence, as such a teacher, has become more potent of recent years, and is likely to become more potent still.

The Christian religion at Oxford, then, is in a somewhat peculiar position. On the one hand is the dominant but decreasing majority of "Humanists," who have largely secularised the University, and would like to secularise it more; on the other hand, there is the strong and increasing minority of Churchmen, who do their best to vitalise what remains of the connection between the Church and the University, and to neutralise by individual effort the

dangers to which the faith of undergraduates is exposed. It results from this, that the religious life of "men up" is "of Oxford," and yet "not of Oxford." It is "of Oxford" in the sense that they are up here, and that many religious influences are brought to bear on them in consequence of that fact; it is "not of Oxford" in the sense, that the University, as a corporate body, takes little heed, and that, as the following pages will show, the religious impulse comes largely from outside.

II.

His College Chapel is the centre round which the religious life of an undergraduate might naturally be expected to revolve; and though the foregoing remarks will have shown why this is not always the case in the present generation, still a survey of the religious influences actually at work in Oxford may very properly begin from that point. The services usually consist of Morning and Evening Prayer, said daily, in shortened forms, and the same on Sundays, with or without a sermon. Except at those Colleges which offer the option of a roll-call, attendance at Matins, or (in some cases) at Evensong, is exacted from the undergraduates on week-days, and at both services on Sundays, that is, of course, where no religious objection is raised on their behalf. The external presentment of these services is usually of the plainest possible character, though on Sundays some attempt at a choir and at singing at least the Canticles and a hymn is usually made. In sharp contrast to the majority are the beautiful and elaborate services at the Cathedral, at Magdalen, and at New College, as well as those at Queen's and St John's, which at all times of the year attract numbers of visitors. Of late years it has become customary at some Colleges to say the daily Evensong at 10 P.M.; whilst at Keble a short office is regularly said at that time as a fitting close to the day's labour. The

attendance of undergraduates at such services is quite voluntary, and is fairly good. In another, and more important matter, too, much progress has been made in College Chapels during the last twenty years. The Holy Communion is celebrated weekly at many Colleges early on Sunday morning, and some even get so far as to recognise the Saints' Days in a similar way. Sermons, if not more common, are certainly more practical and telling than they were; and devotional addresses, like those given to an ordinary congregation, are occasionally delivered in some chapels. It may be said, indeed, that religious men in authority were never more anxious than they are now to stir the hearts and win to God the service of the young men committed to their care. A real effort is nearly everywhere made to make the Chapel and its services "effective" in the best sense. Yet a religiously-minded undergraduate is seldom able to satisfy himself with the services of his College Chapel; often he would be surprised if any one suggested that he could. Many causes might be assigned for this. The Head of the College, or the Chaplain-Fellow, may be doing all he can, but his influence is perhaps counteracted and certainly lessened by the dead-weight of indifferent dons associated with him. The services themselves are seldom of a character to arouse the enthusiasm of anyone, whatever his views may be. The more earnest kind of undergraduate comes too often to regard the whole thing as a survival from remote antiquity, about which nobody cares very much, and which never impresses his heart as real. We must at least admit the fact that, whether Anglican or not, he usually strives to satisfy his religious instincts elsewhere. But it would not be fair to put this down wholly or even chiefly to the changes which have taken place in Oxford during this century. There is little to show that College Chapels were centres of religious life even when the Church of England had it all her own way. Some failure of the kind must always occur where the Academic

life so largely overshadows the Religious. Religion is nothing if not spontaneous, and all the arrangements of his College are necessarily associated in an undergraduate's mind with the idea of discipline. Then again the frequent changes in the staff or the students make permanent effort a difficult matter. Even under the most favourable conditions, it is not easy to make a College Chapel a great success.

Circumstances of this kind, together with the presence of a great deal of speculative or practical Agnosticism in Oxford Common Rooms and the possibility of losing the College Chapels altogether—through disestablishment—have forced Churchmen in Oxford to set up various non-Collegiate agencies which should supplement rather than supplant the existing system. Foremost amongst these, alike from its endowments and from the traditional Oxford teaching which it represents, stands the Pusey House in St Giles', of which the principal is the Rev. C. Gore, now well known as the editor of *Lux Mundi*.* Here are afforded opportunities both of devotion and instruction to all such undergraduates as feel their need of more than they can obtain elsewhere. Services, simple in character but astonishingly beautiful and touching, are regularly held in the little Chapel, and lectures on the deeper mysteries of the Faith, or on questions at issue between Christianity and Modern Thought, are delivered term by term by the Principal to numbers of attentive hearers. A similar position is filled for the Evangelical School by Wycliffe Hall, where lectures on Biblical subjects are given by the Principal, and conferences invited on points of interest or difficulty. The mention of Wycliffe Hall suggests that of St Stephen's House, in the promotion and foundation of which the present Bishop of Lincoln took great interest. Both these institutions are primarily intended for the training of graduates who intend to take Holy Orders, but both serve also as centres for their respective supporters, and attract a

* See page 134.

number of undergraduates about them. Another way in which religious influences are brought to bear upon men, independently of their Colleges, is the holding of special classes or devotional meetings by the great leaders of religion in Oxford. No one who has been to them is ever likely to forget the Friday evening addresses of the present Bishop of Lincoln, until lately professor of Pastoral Theology—the intense yet affectionate earnestness of the speaker, or the crowd of awed and eager faces. Mr Chavasse, of Wycliffe Hall, possesses much of the same wonderful power over the hearts and minds of young men, and passing from his presence, too, one may feel that one has been listening for a while to a true "speaker for God." Nor, again, is any sight in England more impressive than the interior of St Mary's when some famous preacher occupies the pulpit. Those who have only been present in the afternoon, when the attendance is usually so meagre as to suggest the advisability of discontinuing the service at that time altogether, can form no idea of the different appearance which the Church presents, either at the Evening Services which the undergraduates have themselves organised, or at the University Morning Service. Perhaps of all the non-Collegiate forms of religious influence brought to bear on Oxford men, this is the most visible and far-reaching. Tier beyond tier in the galleries, through the aisles and passages, even on the steps of pulpit and reading-desk; wherever their grave and reverend seniors leave them room, crowd and wait the undergraduates. Presently the bell stops, the first notes sound from the organ, the Heads of Houses enter in dignified procession; the preacher parts from the Vice-Chancellor with ceremonious reverence, and wends his narrow way to and up the pulpit stairs. He recites the Bidding Prayer, and we hear, perhaps for the first time, the stately music of its rhythmic sentences; we recall with him the memory of founders and benefactors now gone to rest; we pray that in this University "true

religion and sound learning may for ever flourish and abound." Then the text is read and the sermon begun, and in a few moments the whole audience is fixed in hushed and rapt attention. Soon the preacher closes, the congregation passes out, and the fresh young faces lose their unwonted solemnity; but some there always are whose hearts have been touched, whose wills have been strung to high resolve, and who in the coming years will do a work for God and their fellows. There are many things in Oxford which send our thoughts backward to the past; it is the future that dwells with us most when a great preacher speaks at St Mary's.

So far of the Collegiate and non-Collegiate influences brought to bear upon the religious life of men up at Oxford. It is, however, to the Parish Churches that we must turn if we wish to see the religious undergraduate in his most spontaneous development. For the religious undergraduate has usually been the religious school-boy, and the religious school-boy draws as much of his inspiration from the Parish Church of his home as he does from his school-chapel. Again, it is just at the age when men come up to the Universities that religion begins to have a full meaning for those who are earnest and single-hearted; it is no longer simple conformity to rules imposed from above; it is the dominating impulse which not merely transforms their own lives, but cannot rest unless it is, at least in a degree, doing something for the souls of others. The mere Academic religion is felt to be too narrow and formal; men want to be in closer touch with the poor and down-trodden, and to have some share in the ministrations of the clergy, whose vocation it is to follow thus closely in the steps of their Divine Master. And, again, the Parish Churches have an advantage which the College Chapels can never possess. *They are not closed in the vacations.* They have all that swing and movement, all that energetic life and fulness of reality, which can only result from the

regular and uninterrupted discharge by an institution of its appointed functions. A great service at St Barnabas, or an evangelical appeal from the pulpit of St Peter-le-Bailey, is not felt by the undergraduate to be only something arranged in term-time for his especial benefit; it comes charged with the associations of many similar services in the past; it is the eternal worship which the Church is always offering, or the eternal call she is ever making to her children. And so all the sympathetic instincts upon which Christianity makes so irresistible a claim come strongly into play; the worshipper is one with his fellow-Christians all the world over; he is knit close with a system which endures at all times; not one which dies for half the year.

Broad-Churchism, popularly so called, has little hold of the City of Oxford; and those undergraduates whose religion plays any real part in their lives may usually be found at the "High" or "Low" Churches. Among the former, St Barnabas is certainly the most conspicuous, both from the grandeur and correctness of its ritual, and from the number of undergraduates who attend its services. The church itself is a sufficiently striking structure. Built in the Italian style, with a lofty apse for the High Altar, and with the choir-seats projected into the body of the church, it presents at once an unusual aspect to English eyes; a strangeness not lessened by the lofty and elaborate baldachino, the cross suspended over the chancel gate, and the symbolic frescoes which decorate the eastern wall. The church seats about 1200 people, mostly poor, and is nearly always crowded. Undergraduates may be found there at all times in term, but especially at the Sung Service of Holy Communion on Sunday morning at 11. The ritual is exceedingly beautiful and solemn; few things bring home to us with more effect than the sight of that kneeling multitude, how much "worship" has come to mean for English Churchmen during the last generation. Another

service at St Barnabas much attended by undergraduates is the Catechetical Instruction given on Sunday afternoons to the children; and so conducted as to be nothing less than a training-school for those who will hereafter be called to minister in parishes of their own. At this, and indeed at nearly all churches in Oxford, full use is made of the opportunities afforded by the seasons of Advent and Lent, both of which fall largely in term; the best known preachers in the English Church frequently come down; and the solemn chanting of the Miserere or the Dies Iræ, when the sermon is over, leaves in the heart an echo that haunts it for days afterwards. Here, again, the College Chapels are at a great disadvantage as compared with Parish Churches; for, except at Keble, little or no change is made in College services (under modern conditions, it is often impossible there should be) with the varying ecclesiastical seasons. It is, perhaps, the size of St Barnabas and its wide open spaces, together with the crowd of faces visible from every point, that makes services at all seasons so impressive there; for it is needless to say that there are many other churches in Oxford, such as SS. Philip and James, and the new Church of SS. Mary and John, at which the lessons of the season are pressed home with equal fervour, and the services rendered with the same care, and almost with equal splendour of ritual. These, and other churches like them, all have their votaries, and, like every church in Oxford of whatever ecclesiastical type, are always well attended; but whether from the "advanced" character of its ritual, or from the poverty of its congregation, or from the succession of well-known preachers who speak from its pulpit, St Barnabas has held, and continues to hold, a prerogative position.

If we turn to the opposite school of Anglican theology we find an activity not less zealous, and an influence which, if less widespread, is still powerful. It is often said by complacent High Churchmen that the Evangelical party is dead

or dying in Oxford. For any truth there may be in this assertion so far as the senior members of the University are concerned, the "Evangelical party" has only itself to thank; a party which persistently holds itself aloof from friendly discussion with all who do not pronounce its shibboleth, cannot complain if it is accounted *une quantité négligeable*. But the accusation is distinctly untrue so far as regards undergraduates, and untrue again as describing the condition of the Low Church school. Those who wish to gain some insight into a side of Oxford religious life which does not come prominently forward, should read Mr Hicks' life of Henry Bazely. All of us who were "up" in the "Seventies," can remember the tall spare figure standing, Bible in hand, at the Martyrs' Memorial, and preaching the Gospel to all who were willing to stand and hear. But until this book came out few beyond the circle of Bazely's personal friends understood or appreciated the entire self-devotion and deep religious enthusiasm of the man. He was a widely-read theological student, and his time was devoured by pupils; yet he was a regular attendant at the daily prayer-meeting held in St Aldate's parish-room at 7.30 a.m., "and by that time he had done an hour's reading. He would read with pupils from 9 to 1, would be out visiting the sick and poor or looking up undergraduates all the afternoon, and in the evening at lectures or meetings, from which he rarely returned before 10 p.m."[1] On Sundays he was of course even more busily employed in Evangelistic work. He seems to have had in a marked degree the gift characteristic of the saint—an actual and dominating sense of the constant presence of God.[2] He had persuaded himself that the Presbyterian

[1] Henry Bazely: ch. vii.

[2] On my asking him one afternoon, whether he would be able to go out with me, as it was so lonely for me to walk without him—"Lonely! while you have God to speak to and pray to," he answered. I then asked him if he really always did so, when he was by himself. He then said, "Yes—surely—always where and whenever I am alone." Henry Bazely: ch. ix. (Letter from his wife.)

was the genuine form of Church Government, and was in English Presbyterian Orders; but in the prayer meetings, the "revival" addresses, and all the Mission work that went on in St Aldate's and kindred parishes, he was an eager and successful worker. At a time when such work was more liable to be misunderstood than it now is, he made an effort to speak to and to save some of the wretched women who hang about the streets of Oxford, as of other large towns. And though he was not one of us Churchmen, yet he may stand for us as the type of religious man developed by the school with which he associated himself—a type of its emphasis on personal religion, of its zeal for the salvation of souls, and, if it may be said without offence, of its comparative indifference to Church order. It must be admitted at least that to him and to men like him, is to be attributed much of the increased hold which the "Evangelical party" have, of late years, obtained upon a certain section of undergraduates. We must not forget indeed the abiding and whole-hearted service which has been rendered to that party for so many years by its Oxford Nestor, the Rev. A. W. M. Christopher. High and Broad, as well as Low Churchmen, have all, at times, found themselves in the Large Room at St Aldate's Rectory, and have gazed with interest at attentive rows of undergraduates, whose faces would indeed have been unfamiliar at churches of a different school, but whose numbers and enthusiasm impressed one with a sense of strength. Listening there to men who had worked in far-away Mission fields, or to Mr Aitken, or to Professor Drummond, one could forget for awhile that there *were* parties, and hope that all went away drawn nearer to each other and to Christ.

Enough has been said to show how important is the part played by Oxford churches in the religious life of undergraduates. Much has necessarily been left out. Over and above those which have been mentioned, almost every

church in Oxford has its *clientèle* of undergraduates who attend its services, sing in its choir, or teach in its Sunday-schools. For Nonconformist undergraduates, who of course depend far more than Anglican upon out-of-college religious ministrations, a noteworthy effort has been made of recent years in the foundation of "Mansfield" and "Manchester New" Colleges. The buildings of the former, which already wear something of an old-time look, are a striking addition to the architectural beauties of Oxford; and it may be said of the Principal and his staff, that they have already made themselves and their theology a felt power in the University. Roman Catholic students, again, of whom there are very few, may worship at St Aloysius; there are chapels for those who belong to the various Protestant bodies; and the Salvation Army itself is not without recruits. Everywhere the religious life of the place is varied and full; and though in a University sceptical influences must always be present, yet it cannot be said of Oxford, at least, that there religious teachers are few, or their influence confined. It would be much more true to say that within the last ten years Christianity has taken a great spring forward. But this subject demands a separate section.

III.

The account above given of the religious life of undergraduates will be recognised as true by any men who have been up during the last twenty or twenty-five years. But some of those now resident might complain that as it stands it is hardly a complete account of the present and actual religious life of Oxford. As a matter of fact, during the last seven or eight years the Christianity of Oxford men has been partly modified, partly enriched, by certain new influences, the full development of which must come hereafter. A brief notice of these and a brief indication of the

lines along which Christianity is likely to move at Oxford in the future, will fitly close this article.

Perhaps we may begin by saying that the labours of all the pious, learned, and devoted men, of whatever school, who have struggled for the Faith in Oxford during the latter half of this century, have begun to bear welcome and unmistakable fruit. The mere fact that during a time of crisis they stood firm and ceased not to preach and practise their religion; that they "did not despair of the Republic," but continued to hold classes, to give apologetic lectures, to mingle with the younger men, and to show that Christianity might still assimilate to itself all that was best in the ideas of their own time—these things have had their issue in a wider readiness on the part of the new generation to "make trial" of Christianity. Fifteen and, even more, twenty-five years ago, when a materialistic philosophy was dominant throughout the University, there was, as many of us can remember, a disposition to put religion out of court altogether; to regard Christianity as a delusive, if amiable, weakness, and God as a hypothesis for which, as Mr Morley said, there was a low degree of probability. There is much of this prevalent still; but it is less prevalent than it was, and what exists is largely counteracted by the growing strength of the Christian side. In this respect, as in some others, Oxford has but been the microcosm of England; and the fact may excuse a digression, which shall, at least, be short. One cause of the change has, perhaps, been the failure of those predictions of a coming peace and plenty for men, which were not uncommon among the Reformers and Free-thinkers of the first half of the century. Science is enthroned king among us, and we have had reform after reform of the Constitution; yet the old vices reign all but undiminished, and the future of the working classes is more problematic than ever. So, to some extent, we have been forced back upon the ideas of our forefathers. We have lived through our first amazement at the Evolution

hypothesis, and we no longer think "Darwinism" incompatible with the "creation" of the world by God. We have found again that man has spiritual instincts and cravings which materialism cannot satisfy, and that the happiest of all lives is the life of simple belief and dependence upon God. And so what most of all stirs us who live at the end of the century is the desire, not to get rid of religion altogether, but to incorporate our new discoveries with our ancient faith; to find once more in Christianity the ordering principle which may guide our practice, and give meaning to our knowledge.

These are the ideas which a careful perusal of *Lux Mundi* would show to have underlain the publication of that now famous book. It is necessary to emphasize them a little strongly because, for want of a due appreciation of the circumstances out of which it rose, *Lux Mundi* has been somewhat unfairly judged on both sides. Old-fashioned High Churchmen and advanced theological liberals have joined together in regarding the book as a series of concessions from the side of orthodoxy to that of modern thought. In particular a few pages in the editor's own essay have been made the text for many scathing denunciations of the supposed beliefs of the younger Oxford Churchmen. But if the book be calmly read, not in shreds and patches but as a whole, it will be seen that it is not in any sense a desertion of Church principles, and still less an adoption of the "New Criticism," or of heterodox theology. It is the work of men, all of them earnest and declared churchmen, all of them engaged in the work of tuition at Oxford; and all of them, again, anxious to indicate to their pupils, and to churchmen in general, the lines along which, upon Church principles, an answer may be returned to some difficulties raised, and not always raised in a hostile spirit, by modern speculation. The intention of the authors throughout is not destructive but constructive. Their object is on the one hand to discriminate what is funda-

mental from what is not, in our manner of conceiving the great Christian verities; and on the other hand to show to how large an extent, and in what various ways, some of the cardinal doctrines of modern thinkers may be used to explain or illustrate the ancient faith. The writers may best be understood, if it be remembered that they are men, every one of them, possessed with a firm faith in the Incarnation of our Lord; and that having their feet set firmly upon this rock, they have felt themselves at liberty to reconsider, in the light of recent knowledge, difficulties in the Faith which have been found by modern, or for the matter of that, by ancient thinkers. To many, no doubt, this appeared to be a new attitude on the part of Christian apologists who, during the greater part of this century at least, have been straining every nerve to beat back the assault of a mainly destructive Liberalism. But, strange or not, such an attitude was justified by that renewed interest in Christianity which has been adverted to; as well as by the marked preference which our generation shows for the temperate statement by all parties of their opinions, rather than the violent denunciation by any of its antagonists. It may be safely said that as a new generation grows up, and the various points at issue come to be more widely understood, *Lux Mundi* will take its place more and more as a reasoned and powerful aid to the cause of orthodox Christianity. At all events, it represents the teaching and the position of that school of religious thought which is most powerful in Oxford, and as such it has seemed necessary to dwell somewhat at length upon it.

This fresh yearning after a religious truth which shall satisfy and purify the hearts of men has arisen, in great measure, from a deeper realisation of the complexities of human nature, and an enforced attention to the moral and physical evils of our overgrown society. That, then, which distinguishes the quite recent from the less recent

religious life of Oxford is the marked presence of the philanthropic element. That it should be so has been largely due to one who, though not a theologian but a philosopher, yet had an influence upon the religious thought of his time, which it would be difficult to over-rate, and which has affected men of all parties—the late Professor T. H. Green. Without attempting to expound his speculative views, we may just indicate two great doctrines which formed the foundation of his teaching, and which he was never weary of reiterating. Neither nature nor man, he said, can be known by us, or made intelligible to us, without the assumption of a "Spiritual Principle," which gives unity and meaning to the one, and strives to realise itself ever more and more fully through the progressive ideals of the other. And, again, because God is thus revealed to us in the very fact of knowing, and in the very conditions of conduct, therefore we are not to think of Him as far away in some transcendental world, but as *here*, in our midst, accessible to our intelligence, working through our wills. For all pupils of Professor Green, to know God, meant to find the revelation of Him in their highest ideals; and to serve Him, meant to make men Godlike. We need not now scan these propositions with the eye of a theological or philosophical opponent; we can all see how profoundly they would affect the practical religion of young men who were, in any true sense, sincere Christians. As a matter of fact, all parties in Oxford caught some echo of Green's meaning, and some measure of his enthusiasm. The best and most religious men of the present time are not content simply to go to their favourite church, to be more or less edified, and to come away again. They interest themselves in social questions. They throng meetings where such questions are to be discussed; as at the Hall of Keble, in 1884, when nearly a thousand undergraduates assembled to hear the Bishop of Bedford and Miss Octavia Hill speak on the condition of

the poor at the East End. A great deal of money is yearly subscribed to maintain organisations devoted to Christian and philanthropic work. Some Colleges maintain special "Missions" in neglected parts of London; all make some sort of effort to support the work which is being done on a larger scale at the Oxford House, Bethnal Green, or at Toynbee Hall, Whitechapel. To make one's religion not only a comfort to one's own soul, but more than anything else, a practical living force among men, ruling and Christianising their intercourse with one another—this is the ideal of to-day's Oxford. And an interesting evidence of the force and wide prevalence of this ideal may be found in the recent foundation of a society called "The Christian Social Union." Its members meet together at stated times for the discussion of social problems in the light of the principles delivered in the Gospel; and endeavour, both corporately and individually, to make those principles a force in the sphere of practice. Of what enthusiasm undergraduates are now capable in this direction, those only perhaps fully know who are familiar with them. A well-known speaker or earnest religious teacher can always command large audiences on "social" subjects.

And thus, looking to the future of Christianity in Oxford, we can hope that events are bringing about a reunion of all parties, which, at one time, seemed impossible. There is no necessary contradiction—and we are beginning to see it—between the "personal religion" of the Evangelical, the "Sacramental system" of the High Churchman, and philanthropic efforts which recall the memory of Maurice and Kingsley, and which are largely inspired by the desire to bring dogma into living connection with daily life and practice. We are becoming conscious that, after all, the largest and most fruitful conception of Christianity is that which represents it as a Church; a corporation to which the individual brings his special gift, and consecrates it henceforth, "in the Lord," to the service of the whole

body. And in the Church, thus widely representative, we may surely see the Guardian of all that is of permanent value in the doctrine and organisation of the past; and at the same time the Authority which adapts its methods, whether of teaching or of worship, to the needs of each succeeding generation. It is in the consolidation of all who thus think into one great central "party" that the hope of the Church of England lies; and in the future, as in the past, it is from Oxford that the fruition of her hope will come.

G. W. G.

Chapter VII.

AIDS TO STUDY IN OXFORD.

IT would be unpardonable to omit from a work dealing with the modern life of Oxford, an account of the numerous aids to study in the shape of Libraries and of Museums, of Scientific, Artistic, and Archæological Institutions, which are the pride of the University. The Colleges possess not only in their libraries, but in their collections of paintings and ancient plate, of furniture and metal work, of coins and antiquities, a vast and very imperfectly known store of treasures. Of these we shall speak but shortly, information about them is sometimes not easy to acquire, and the objects themselves are not always readily accessible to the sightseer. But of the public collections of the University, all of them freely opened to duly qualified strangers as well as to the graduate and the undergraduate, we must give an account in some detail.

First and foremost among the public institutions of the University we must mention the Bodleian Library, an ancient foundation whose fame is not bounded by the four seas, but has gone out into all lands. It ranks not with the collections of other Universities but rather with the great national libraries of the world, and is never without some sprinkling of foreign readers, drawn to Oxford by the magnificence of its store of manuscripts and early printed books, and by the unusual facilities given to students. It is possible to use the Bodleian for nearly thirteen hours a day.

The Bodleian occupies, appropriately enough, the central spot in Oxford, and its appendage, the circular Radcliffe

Camera, has not unaptly been described as the ὄμφαλος γῆς, the "centre of the earth," in the topography of the city. The traveller coming down Broad Street or Catherine Street notes a great square quadrangle, partly perpendicular partly Jacobean in its architecture, and thinks that he has come upon one College more. But a second glance, when he has stepped inside the entrance gateway, reveals to him that the place is not built like the ordinary College. Its doors are few, its windows many and long, and the staircase system on which all Colleges are constructed is conspicuously absent.

The buildings of the Bodleian fall into two parts, the main quadrangle, which is a work of the seventeenth century, and the great projecting gallery on its western side, which dates from the fifteenth, and was long the sole receptacle for the University Library. The Mediæval University was always possessed of a collection of books, which was in the thirteenth century kept in chests within St Mary's Church, and used there under strict supervision by qualified graduates. In the fourteenth century a special chamber of moderate proportions was built for it on the north side of the Church, but it soon outgrew this accommodation, and when in the reign of Henry VI., the King's uncle, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester, made the University the magnificent gift of his whole library, "a thousand pounds' worth and more," the crowded shelves were unable to bear the new influx of books. Accordingly the University reared to hold them the beautiful building of which the ground story formed the Divinity School, while the upper one held the books. In compliment to the generous donor it was christened "Duke Humphrey's Library," though he himself died in 1447, long ere it was completed. This most charming room runs east and west, facing Exeter College garden on the one side and the court of the Sheldonian Theatre on the other. Its present fittings, which cut it up into many small studies separated from each

other by projecting bookcases, are not the original ones, but were inserted by Sir Thomas Bodley, the second founder of the University collection. No reading-room in the world has a greater charm than this beautiful work of the fifteenth century: the peaceful outlook on to the green turf and groves of Exeter Garden, the dusky bindings of the ancient works —mainly theology—which line the studies, the massive oak fittings, the painted roof with its countless variations on the University coat-of-arms, the line of quaint portraits of founders and benefactors who look down from the walls, give the place a character of its own with which no modern library can vie.

The University Library grew and flourished in Duke Humphrey's Chamber, till in 1550 it fell a victim to Edward VI.'s "Commissioners for the Reform of the University," who, under the pretence of destroying Papist books, spoilt and destroyed the whole collection. "They so cancelled our Library," wrote Sir J. Harrington, "and so scattered our books, as from that time to this we might never recover them." The room was left so desolate that in 1555 the Congregation of the University ordered the shelves and desks to be pulled down and sold as firewood!

So things remained for nearly fifty years, till in the end of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Thomas Bodley, after spending a busy life as a traveller and diplomatist, resolved to devote his declining years to the benefit of the University, where he had once been an undergraduate and a fellow. He repaired the dilapidated fittings of Duke Humphrey's Library, placed new bookshelves in it, made a magnificent gift of manuscripts, and collected among his friends two thousand volumes as a nucleus for a new collection. The new Library was solemnly opened in 1602, and James of New College was installed as the first Bodleian Librarian.

Bodley's benefactions did not end here. He concluded, on behalf of his Library, a most praiseworthy covenant with the Stationers' Company, by which the Bodleian be-

came entitled to a copy of every book printed in the kingdom. From that day to this the agreement has been kept. How all-important it is for the Library may be judged from the fact that occasionally, within the last few years, more than 30,000 items have accrued to the Library in twelve months.

In 1611, Duke Humphrey's Library was already overcrowded, and Bodley built, to contain the surplus books, the first portion of that great quadrangle which now forms the main part of the Bodleian. This was the "Eastern Wing;" the remainder of the quadrangle was completed by the University after Bodley's death, between the years 1613 and 1626. The most striking feature of this noble building is the so-called "Tower of the Five Orders," where a colossal King James the First sits aloft, handing a book to the kneeling figure of the University, while an angel blows a trumpet to inform the world of the inestimable gift. These figures commemorate a visit made by the British Solomon to the Library in 1610, when, being received with the flattery that his soul loved, the King observed that "Sir Thomas Bodley should rather be called Sir Thomas Godley," and made the University a present of all his own works, together with a collection of editions of the Fathers.

Bodley died in 1613, leaving his estates as an endowment to his foundation. Since his day, benefactions have never ceased to flow into the Library from men of all parties and all manners of life. In the same generation Laud and Milton, Clarendon and Cromwell, alike became numbered among its nursing fathers. The civil wars passed lightly over it; and when Oxford capitulated to the Parliamentarians in 1646, the first care of Fairfax on occupying the town was to set a guard of musketeers over the precious collection. By the end of the seventeenth century the Library was already considered one of the first collections in the world; and even amid the sloth

and carelessness of the Georgian age it continued to increase. The librarians of the eighteenth century, it must be owned, grossly neglected their duty of keeping the collection up to date in the matter of new printed books, and, by dint of unpractical ordinances, cut down the number of readers to a minimum. But the generosity of donors continued to pour in manuscripts, early printed books, charters, and antiquities of all kinds, even in this evil time. The most valuable gift was that of a Nonjuring bishop, Dr Rawlinson, who, in 1755, presented the Library with no less than 4800 MSS. from his library, besides numberless minor items of worth.

It was not till the middle of the present century, however, that the Bodleian once more began to be properly managed, brought up to date, and made easily accessible to all students. To the energy of Dr Coxe, the late, and Mr Nicholson, the present librarian, the University owes it that its Public Library is no longer a mere storehouse of learning, but a centre of active work, and a valuable factor in Academic life.

About thirty years ago the books of the Bodleian once more overgrew their accommodation. New space was found by annexing to the Library an institution in its neighbourhood which had hitherto had a separate existence of its own. This was the circular, domed building to which we have already alluded, the "Radcliffe Camera." It had been founded in 1737 by the celebrated physician Radcliffe as a Medical Library; but the medical school at Oxford became practically extinct, and the paucity of books and the absence of students were as marked under the spacious dome of the Camera as the excess of books and the overcrowding of students in the neighbouring Bodleian. It was with great wisdom that the University and the Radcliffe trustees agreed to transfer the medical collection to the New Museum—of which more hereafter—and to utilise the Radcliffe as an appendage to the older Library.

Accordingly, all books published since 1840 have been transferred to the Radcliffe, and a double range of desks for students placed around its floor and its gallery. While the student of manuscripts and early books frequents the Bodleian, and fancies himself back in the Middle Ages, as he sits in a study of Duke Humphrey's Library poring over his treasures, the reader of modern literature or the undergraduate working for the schools betakes himself to the Radcliffe Camera, and studies his new lights among gas lamps, green baize tables, and patent inkstands, recalling a more civilised edition of the British Museum. To spare the dangers of fire, the Bodleian closes at dusk, but the Radcliffe is well illuminated, and remains open till ten in the evening, still thronged by readers till the bell tolls the hour of closing.

Almost every member of the University, save, indeed, the passman, learns to use the Bodleian. Some Colleges have good libraries, and hardly need to supplement their private stock by sending their men to read in the public institution. Others with smaller collections are obliged to bid their students go to the Bodleian for everything save the most ordinary works. But even the best College library is obliged to refer its readers to the University bookshelves on occasion. For ancient books, for foreign publications, for large illustrated collections, it is, of course, the main resource of the reader. On one province of literature alone will the enquirer find himself shut out from its liberal bookshelves. No works of fiction of modern date, English or foreign, are allowed to be consulted, unless the would-be reader can prove that he wishes to refer to them for literary work and not for amusement.

The portion of the Bodleian to which the visitor is admitted consists of some of Bodley's additions to Duke Humphrey's Chamber. In the gallery opening out of that Chamber are arranged show-cases of noteworthy books for public inspection. Some are there for historical interest,

others for the beauty of their illumination, others merely for their antiquity. No one should fail to cast an eye over them. The most ancient is the oldest MS. of Homer in the world, a mere fragment of two books of the Iliad it is true, but going back to the third century B.C., while but recently no Homer was known that was not posterior to the Christian Era by many centuries. Beside it in the case lies the skull of the Greek lady in whose tomb it was found. Another invaluable possession is the so-called Codex Laudianus, a 6th century MS. of the Acts of the Apostles, which was brought over to England by Archbishop Theodore of Tarsus, and seems on conclusive evidence to have been used by the venerable Bede in his translation of the Scriptures. A little later in date is Queen Margaret of Scotland's Lectionary, an Anglo-Saxon work of the 11th century, which, as we learn in the history of the sainted Queen, was the subject of a miracle. Dropped into a river, it remained unharmed and came ashore without showing any mark of immersion, to gladden its pious owner's heart. The glorious Norwich Psalter of 1340 detains the eye for a space by its rich illuminated margins filled with all manner of sportive figure subjects. Of a similar date and style is the beautiful *Romaunt of King Alisaunder* which lies beside it. One whole case is filled with exquisite Flemish and French missals of the 15th century, whose minute ornamentation with flowers, birds, beasts, and butterflies must have been the labour of years. One book in another case is claimed as having belonged to Shakespeare; another has a long Latin autograph poem by Milton written in it, addressed to Rous, the Bodleian librarian of the poet's day. But to catalogue the treasures of the Bodleian would take far more space than we can spare.

Two other Libraries supplement the Bodleian, and are easily accessible to all qualified readers—to graduates without formality, to under-graduates on the production of

an order from their tutor. The first is the Taylorian Library, occupying a wing of the University Galleries in Beaumont Street. It is entirely devoted to foreign literature, and to a certain extent relieves the Bodleian of the responsibility of being the sole purveyor of foreign books to the reading public of the University. From the reader's point of view the chief merit of the Taylorian is that, unlike the Bodleian, it lends its books out. They can be taken home and used there, a convenience of which much use is made. A large stock of foreign learned and literary periodicals lie on the table of the Taylorian, and are kept scrupulously up to date.

The second library which can be used to supplement the Bodleian is the Codrington Library in All Souls College. That body, unlike other Colleges, allows the academic public to make use of its books, in a very comfortable reading-room, from ten till four daily. No one should omit to pay the Codrington a visit—its magnificent hall, 210 feet long, lined with books from end to end, is by far the largest single room in any Library in the University, and, despite its Georgian date, has a most impressive aspect. The College of All Souls specialises on the studies of law and history, and the greater part of the 70,000 books in its library deal with those subjects. Hence it is mainly by those reading for the schools of Law and Modern History that its bookshelves are found useful.

After speaking of the Libraries of the University we must pass on to describe its Museums. Of these the most important is the one that contains its works of Art, the large University Galleries in Beaumont Street, whose classical frontage is the first academic architecture that strikes the traveller proceeding from the station to North Oxford. The galleries were erected in 1845, and greatly enlarged in 1890. They are likely ere long to extend still further to the North, when the University brings, as is contemplated, its archæological collection to join its art

collection under the same roof. As they stand at present the University Galleries comprise an upper and a lower story. The latter is mainly devoted to Sculpture: it contains the celebrated Arundel and Pomfret marbles, one of the earliest collections of Classical Sculpture and Classical inscriptions made in England. Among the Arundel marbles is the famous "Parian Chronicle," so important to historians as fixing the dates accepted by the ancients as the chief landmarks in Greek Chronology. Beside the genuine antiques the Gallery has a large collection of casts, arranged by periods, and invaluable to the student of archæology by the clear conspectus which they give of the development, and the decline and fall of Hellenic Sculpture.

At the western end of the Sculpture gallery lies the Ruskin Drawing School, containing a unique collection of the water colours of J. M. W. Turner, presented by his prophet Mr Ruskin, who was for some time Fine Art Professor in the University. The sketches and studies are fully as interesting as the completed pictures, and deserve a very careful inspection. With the Turners are to be found a number of Mr Ruskin's own very beautiful architectural drawings, and a few other works of note, among them some unfinished designs by Burne Jones

The upper story of the University Galleries is occupied by its pictures. The collection is not very large, but contains some characteristic early Florentine paintings, an excellent portrait of Mary Tudor by an unknown hand, and two or three good Reynoldses—note especially the portrait of Mrs Merrick. Its most unique possession, however, is a collection of the original drawings of Raphael and Michael Angelo, purchased for £7000 by subscription, and presented to the University. Those who know Rome will recognise among the Raphaels a number of the details of the compositions in his great rooms at the Vatican.

There are two other considerable collections of pictures

in Oxford, in addition to the numerous portraits of distinguished men which adorn the walls of College Halls. First comes the Bodleian Gallery in the upper story of the Library, containing not only pictures of benefactors, but a large miscellaneous collection—good, bad and indifferent—of English and foreign notabilities. There are three or four Vandykes among them, a Jansens or two, and among moderns two by Watts of Dean Stanley and Lord Lothian. The majority of the portraits are more interesting as preserving the features of University worthies, who would otherwise have been forgotten, than as works of art. The names of the artists appended to many of them are not to be trusted.

The second large collection of pictures in Oxford is that in the Library of Christ Church. They are all Italian works presented eighty years ago by General Guise and the Hon. W. Fox-Strangways: there are one or two good paintings among them, but the majority seem to have been collected by unskilled amateurs who cared only for the names appended by the seller. To read the catalogue of the gallery would be to believe that there was an important collection: but many of the pictures shock the eyes of the beholder. There is one curious and authentic picture by Piero della Francesca, which has been of late cleaned by Mr Richmond with the best of results, and some of the early Tuscan work may be genuine. Of the rest, the less said the better. The pictures which adorn the hall of the College are much more important than those in its Library. They are by far the best College collection in Oxford—Wadham being probably the second. The visitor to Christchurch should note the beautiful Lord Mendip of Gainsborough; the two Archbishops—Markham and Robinson—by Sir Joshua Reynolds; and Hogarth's Bishop Hooper. There are fair modern portraits of Dr Pusey and Canon Liddon—both posthumous—and a lifelike but most unflattering portrait of Mr Gladstone by Millais.

We now must pass from Art to Archæology. The main University collection of antiquities reposes at present in the quaint little Ashmolean Museum, under the shadow of the Bodleian. Till the last few years this collection was much neglected, and a catalogue made of its contents a hundred-and-fifty years ago shows, when compared with that of to-day, that many objects were lost or mislaid in the slack Georgian times. The cabinet which formed the nucleus of the University collection, was that of the Tradescants, two Dutchmen, gardeners to Charles I., who had a taste for miscellaneous antiquities, and formed an *omnium gatherum* of all things, from real mediæval relics to natural curiosities fit for a country fair. The collection won for the original owners' house the title of "Tradescants Ark." The younger of the two Dutch antiquaries left it by will to his friend Elias Ashmole, whose interests lay rather in the direction of Natural History than of Archæology. Ashmole again left it to the University, on condition that a suitable home was provided for it, and accordingly the pretty little two storied building in Broad Street was erected.

In 1860, the Natural History specimens were carted off to the new Museum of Science in the Parks, showing alas! many marks of eighteenth century moth and rust. The Archæological specimens were rearranged by the late Mr Parker, and some new collections, including objects excavated from the interesting Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Fairford, were added. But the Ashmolean only commenced its real development under its present keeper Mr A. J. Evans, who has doubled its size and value. He presented it himself with a large collection of Greek terra-cottas and many other antiques. From the Rev. J. Greville Chester, it obtained a unique collection of Hittite gems and inscriptions. But the great gain was from the magnificent gift of Mr Drury Fortnum, who three years ago gave a most valuable collection of Italian renaissance objects, bronzes,

jewellery, majolica, and other ware, smith's work, reliefs, and much more. The collection has quite outgrown its housing, and a suitable abode is to be reared for it beside the Taylorian Gallery ere another year has passed.

The visitor should notice, among things mediæval, the famous "Alfred's Jewel," a gold and enamel ornament discovered in Somersetshire on the Isle of Athelney, where the great king once took refuge from the Danes. It bears the inscription, AELFRED MEC HAET GEWÆRCAN, which fully authenticates it. The sword given by Pope Leo X. to King Henry VIII. when he conferred on him the title of "Defender of the Faith," will also attract notice. It has a fine crystal hilt, whose pommel encloses a relic. A somewhat more modern relic is the genuine lantern of Guy Fawkes, taken from him when he was seized in the Parliament cellar. Its pedigree is quite certain, as it came to the University almost directly from the official who apprehended the traitor in 1605.

But the English mediæval collection at the Ashmolean is much less noteworthy than the ancient art displayed in the upper gallery and the Italian renaissance objects of the Fortnum gift. While ascending to the upper story, the visitor should note the excellent contemporary picture of the Battle of Pavia, hung—among many daubs—on the staircase wall. It is invaluable for reconstructing the topography of that great fight.

A second storehouse of antiquities belonging to the University is the Pitt-Rivers Museum, at the back of the Science Museum in the Parks. By some unfortunate inspiration, the Anthropological collection has been separated from Archæology, and put under the province of Natural Science. In the Pitt-Rivers, the objects are arranged under categories of employment,—weapons of war—musical instruments—boats—weaving implements, &c., and not arranged by dates or countries. When the arrangement has been completed, and the collection properly labelled, it will afford an interesting afternoon's amusement

for the intelligent student of history, apart from its value to the anthropologist.

Passing from Archæology to Numismatics, we must mention that there are several collections of coins in Oxford. That in the Bodleian Library is far the most important. It is an old cabinet, started mainly by Laud, and largely added to by later benefactors. More than 50,000 coins fill its cases. Among them are some of the greatest rarities; for example, the "Petition Crown" of Charles II., of which the last specimen sold fetched £500; a set of the large "Oxford Money" of Charles I., struck from College plate; gold coins of the British usurpers Carausius and Allectus, and many other noteworthy pieces. Christ Church possesses a considerable cabinet of Greek, Roman, and English pieces, which is worth a visit; and New College, Corpus Christi, and St John's own smaller collections.

The Natural Science collections of Oxford are gathered together in the spacious "New Museum" in the Parks. This pretentious but unsatisfactory building, which unhappily combines Italian Gothic windows and details, with the high-pitched roofs of a French chateau, and the variegated tiles of a Russian church, was built in 1858-60. Mr Ruskin must take some of the responsibility for the monstrosity, as he designed some of the detail, but the architects were Messrs Deane and Woodword. The great flat front is sadly in want of a porch, the present door being entirely mean and inadequate. The nucleus of the collections here was the Natural History portion of the Ashmolean; but the museum is far more than a mere collection of curiosities; it aims, to use the words of Sir Henry Acland, to whom more than to any one else Natural Science owes its establishment in Oxford, "first to give the learner a general idea of the planet on which he lives; and, secondly, to enable him to study, in the most complete and scientific manner, any detailed portion." It would be at once useless

and impossible to specify the objects here which students will find of interest, each in his own line; but it may be worth while to mention that the shafts of the 125 columns were selected by the late Mr Phillips, Professor of Geology, as examples of the most important rocks of the British Islands. The Radcliffe Library, which, as was mentioned, has been transferred to the Museum from its own old home, in the Radcliffe Camera, is well kept up in all branches of scientific literature, and is open to students. Round the Museum, too, are the laboratories of the various Science Professors, most of whom have collections under their care, illustrating their own departments. But sufficient has been said as to the material aids to study which Oxford affords: only the most general sketch could be given; but the mere visitor will think Oxford herself far more interesting than the details of her collections, while the student will need little help in finding out the means at his disposal for study.

Chapter VIII.

WOMEN'S EDUCATION AT OXFORD.

THE movement in connection with the "Higher Education of Women" at Oxford was scarcely recognised even in the University itself until a few years ago. Up to that time hardly anyone had heard of the Oxford Colleges for Women, and those who knew of their existence had the vaguest ideas of the work done there. Cambridge took the lead so completely in this direction that all other attempts seemed very insignificant in comparison.

Nevertheless two Colleges for Women—Somerville Hall and Lady Margaret Hall—have existed in Oxford since the year 1879. In 1886 St Hugh's was opened, but as the plan of it is slightly different from that of the other two, many of the following remarks do not apply to it at all, and it is described separately.

In the spring of 1884, a controversy took place with regard to the question as to whether or not women should be admitted to any or all of the University Examinations. Already the students at Somerville and Lady Margaret went in for examinations said to be of the same standard as the corresponding Honour Examinations for men, and it was felt to be hard that their certificates of success should be considered of less value simply because they were not recognised by the University Statutes. Those who took an interest in the subject will remember that a large majority of Convocation decided in favour of the admission of women to the University Examinations, and it is since that time that the recognition of the movement in Oxford

has been growing wider. The schools now open to men and women alike will be found in the following list of Examinations.

THE EXAMINATIONS FOR WOMEN AT OXFORD.

[The following particulars are copied from the paper drawn up by the secretaries to the Association for the Education of Women in Oxford; the fullest details of each examination can be obtained by writing for the "Regulations of the Oxford Examination for Women," to H. T. Gerrans, Esq., Local Examination Office, Oxford.]

The Examinations are as follows:—

(*a.*) First Examination.

(*b.*) Second Examination (Pass).

(*c.*) Do. do. (Honours).

(*a.*) The First Examination corresponds with "Responsions" in standard, and consists of papers in (1) Two Languages, (2) Arithmetic, (3) Euclid, Books I. and II., *or* Algebra to simple equations.

This must be passed by all who offer themselves as Candidates for the Second Examination, and not in the same calendar year. But the following examinations are accepted as equivalent:—

I. Responsions.

II. The Matriculation Examination of London, the Previous Examination of the University of Cambridge; the Preliminary Examination in Arts of the Victoria University; the Cambridge Higher Local Examinations; the Oxford Senior Local Examinations; the Examination for Higher Certificates of the Oxford and Cambridge Schools Examination Board: the last four with certain restrictions.

III. Members of the Association of Collegiate Alumnæ (U.S.A.) are excused the First Examination, if they become Candidates for an Honour Certificate at the Second Examination.

(*b.*) The Second Examination (Pass) is of the same standard as the men's Pass Examination for Degree. There are six sections :—

A. Languages.
B. Ancient History.
C. Modern History.
D. Mathematics.
E. Natural Science.
F. Logic and Political Economy.

Every Candidate must pass in A. and one other.

(*c.*) The Second Examination (Honours) is of the same standard as the Men's Honour Examinations. In six of the sections—Classics, Mathematics, Modern History, Natural Science, Literæ Humaniores, and Jurisprudence—the Honour Examinations of the University are used, and the women-candidates are examined by the same examiners, in the same papers, at the same time, and classed on the same standard as the men.

There are eight sections altogether, of which any *one*, and one only, may be taken. They are as follows :—

(1.) Classics, in which the examination used is Honour Moderations.
(2.) Mathematics, in which, if *Pure* Mathematics only be taken, the examination used is Honour Moderations. If Pure *and* Mixed, then Honour Greats.
(3.) Modern History.
(4.) Natural Science.
(5.) Literæ Humaniores.
(6.) Jurisprudence.

(In Sections 3 to 6 the examinations used are the Final (Honour) Schools.)

(7.) English.
(8.) Modern Languages.

(In these last two Sections the Delegates provide examinations of their own, but the *standard* is the same as that of the University Honour Examinations.)

In the first five sections Candidates may take a *portion:* thus, in Classics they may take *one* language; in Modern History they may take English History only; in Natural Science, Elementary Mechanics and Physics only, and Chemistry only; in Literæ Humaniores, the Histories of Ancient Greece and Rome, or Logic and the Outlines of Moral and Political Philosophy only. If so, they receive not Classes but a Certificate of Pass or Distinction. In Mathematics they may offer any portion, and receive a Class, or Certificate of Pass or Distinction according to merit.

There is further a Pass Examination in the Bible, or the Bible and Prayer Book combined.

In all the sections, if the whole subject be taken, the Candidates are classed in three or four classes. All classes obtained are officially published in the "University Gazette."

The Instruction of Women in Oxford is in the hands of an Association formed for that purpose. It consists of residents in Oxford, men and women, who undertake to provide teaching in any subject for which there is a demand. At present there are lectures in Modern History, English, Latin, Greek, French, German, Mathematics, Logic, and Political Economy. Most of the University and College lectures are open to women students by special arrangement. The teaching is open to *all* women, whether living in Oxford with their friends, or in lodgings approved by the Association, or residing in one of the Halls. The fees vary from one to two guineas a course, and the course lasts for the University Term of eight weeks. Women students are admitted to the University Chemical Laboratories for the ordinary fee of £3 a Term. They are also admitted to the University Libraries and Museum. The lectures, except those in the Men's Colleges, are given chiefly in the Association rooms in Alfred Street.

It is a wise precaution to pass the First Examination before entering at either of the Halls. It saves time for one thing, and the Examination may be a source of great

annoyance afterwards, as some unfortunates can bear witness. After this, the choice of Pass or Honours *or both* depends on the individual and her capabilities. Some students take both, some take the Pass alone from want of time or ability to read for Honours; some take the Honour Examination alone, especially those who are not equally good in more than one subject. The First Examination is held twice a-year—in June and December. The Second Examinations are held yearly at the end of the summer Term.

Perhaps the fact which has aroused most criticism in the Oxford scheme of Education of Women and the fact which chiefly distinguishes it from the Cambridge one, is that the rules about residence seem so informal. Newnham and Girton follow the University rules in this respect, but Somerville and Lady Margaret have not adopted them. No residence, even in Oxford, is necessary, and no fixed periods at either of the Halls, before going in for any of the Examinations. Nevertheless, those who objected to this arrangement may be relieved to find that it is most exceptional for anyone to go in for Examinations who does not reside either at one of the Halls or with friends in Oxford, and that even the latter is unusual. Although there are no specified limits to the time of residence at the Halls, it is generally understood that no one stays up more than four years or less than one, unless with special permission and for a special reason. Most girls stay for three years. If, however, anyone fails to get through the First Examination within a reasonable time, she is requested to leave the College, at least until she is more successful. The reasonable time is fixed by the authorities—not by the student herself.

The charges for Board and Lodging are, at Somerville, from £21 a term; at Lady Margaret £25 a term. Scholarships varying from £20 to £50 a-year in value are from time to time (generally once a-year) offered for

competition either by the Halls or the Association. Successful Candidates for the Hall Scholarships are required to reside at the Hall which offers the Scholarship. *St Hugh's Hall* (next door but one to Lady Margaret Hall) was opened in 1886, for those who could not afford the more expensive terms at the other Colleges. The terms are £45 a-year for board and lodging if two students share a bedroom, and work in the common study; but the cost of a single room is £65 a-year. St Hugh's will take twenty-four students; and is intended for the benefit of members of the Church of England, and, although it has no official connection with Lady Margaret Hall, follows most of its rules, and is conducted on somewhat similar lines.

Somerville, Lady Margaret, and St Hugh's are under the governing Committee and a resident Principal and Vice-Principal. Students are at liberty to choose their own tuition and instructors, subject to the approval of the Principal. At Somerville the numbers are about fifty, at Lady Margaret thirty-eight.

Lady Margaret Hall and St Hugh's are founded on Church of England principles ("though with provision for the liberty of members of other religious bodies"), while Somerville is undenominational.

There is no limit as to age at any of the Halls, except that no student, under ordinary circumstances, is admitted *under* the age of eighteen. Over that, the ages vary up to thirty, very seldom beyond: and the greater number are generally under twenty-one.

At Somerville and Lady Margaret each student has one large room to herself, which serves as bedroom and study. All necessary furniture is supplied by the Colleges, and the occupant is at liberty to add whatever else she likes. If she is clever in managing to screen off the "bedroom part" of her room and chooses pretty decorations for the rest, it is wonderful how pretty and artistic the rooms can be made. Of course the choice of rooms, where there is a choice, goes by priority of residence.

"I shall never be so happy again—the pleasantest part of my life is over," is generally the thought in the minds of those who are saying Goodbye to their College days for the last time. For girls feel more than men that such a delightful period of comparative liberty will never come to them again.

So many people still regard the "girl-graduate" (as they *will* call her, though with no right whatsoever) at least as an unnatural production, that perhaps they would be surprised to find how very simple and even common-place in appearance is her life at College. Take, for example, one ordinary day spent under ordinary circumstances.

She is waked at seven by a bell being rung up and down the passage in which she sleeps. (She really does wake, for the girl who lies sleepless all night "thinking about her Examinations" exists as a rule in the brains of her sympathisers alone.) Prayers are at eight, and here again some people will be surprised to find that the "intellectual girl" at Oxford at least, does not necessarily think it a fine thing to want to "cut" them. Indeed this strange notion that, at either University, girls at College always or often adopt a sceptical tone about religion, and boast of it, would be found on investigation to be grossly exaggerated. It would be considered the height of bad breeding, to say the least of it, to do any such thing. A few lazy ones will, of course, run the time as close as possible, and sometimes fail to put in an appearance at all. Prayers are followed by breakfast, which everyone has together in the Hall or dining-room. After breakfast the rooms are, or ought to be, ready for work; but those who prefer, may use one of the rooms common to all—the Library, Drawing-room, etc.

Unless there are lectures or morning "Coaches," the time between nine and one is spent entirely in work. Lunch begins at about one, and is a moveable feast lasting until nearly two, during which time people go in and out as they please. The afternoon is almost without exception given up to amusement—except where afternoon lectures or

"Coaches" interfere. This really is a feature in the College life of Women which most people absolutely overlook even if they are aware of it. The good-natured personage who visited one of the Halls under the impression that he would find long rows of pale, heavy-eyed girls bending over books on a lovely summer afternoon, was almost breathless with surprise to find no one at work, and the greater number playing "Prisoner's base" on the lawn, with energy and animation enough to do credit to the most ignorant daughters of Eve.

In summer the favourite occupations are tennis or long walks. Those who can drive and can afford it are fond of hiring "Tommy," a good-natured though lazy little fellow, who can be had with a small dog-cart at no very ruinous price per hour. A smaller minority who have friends in Oxford occasionally go for rides. Lady Margaret Hall has a boat, and those who can swim the required distance (fifty feet) may spend very pleasant afternoons on the river.

Cricket, though it must be confessed of a somewhat feminine nature, occasionally comes into fashion. Indeed anyone who will suggest any outdoor game whatever will find plenty of supporters, for everyone is welcome to join in whatever is going on.

Tennis is played more or less all the year round—even late on in the October Term, for then games are scarce and boating grows daily more impossible. La Crosse is a popular winter game, and for one short but brilliant period which most participators regretfully remember, Hockey was *the* game *par excellence*, which engrossed everyone's leisure and thoughts. But it has been partly put down by the authorities since, as "too rough." Sometimes on wet days the gymnasium at Lady Margaret's is the scene of great festivity, and there are generally some girls not altogether superior to a game of hide-and-seek all over the house, with the blinds pulled down. In short, a love of games is a distinct characteristic of the girls of College—

especially the young and healthy ones. The inter-Collegiate debates are also held fortnightly in the afternoons; and although they are a source of pain and anguish to the people who get them up, they are sometimes amusing, even if the numbers are really too small to admit of great variety. Tea is also an informal meal, to which people drop in as they please. Sometimes a stray guest comes and has tea too, and looks curiously at the Hall and the students. Anyone who likes can have tea in her own room and can ask her friends in and out of College—her lady friends that is—for even brothers are not admitted to the rooms, but are entertained in state in the drawing-room. "Tea-parties" are sometimes very lively, particularly when the tea and provisions run short, or do not turn up at all, as sometimes happens. Dinner or supper is at eight, and the interval after tea is spent in work or amusement according to taste. Evening Prayers follow at Lady Margaret, and the rest of the evening is spent either entirely in work or in work with variations. If there is a concert or anything specially entertaining at the theatre, two or three of the students are pretty sure to go. Those who have friends in Oxford occasionally go to evening parties—dances always excepted, as they are prohibited. Acting is always popular when it is allowed, and the College concerts with their inevitable "practices"; these are some of the variations, but the evenings are often spent entirely in work or in seeing friends in College.

It is easy to see that any girl can read six, seven, or even eight hours a day, and still have the whole afternoon for amusement and recreation. As a matter of fact, very few people try to work eight or more hours, and the majority not more than five or six. There is no "tradition of idleness" among women; they cannot boast of geniuses who get their First-Classes without ever opening a book. Still the general idea that they will overwork when they can is not a true one. There are very few cases indeed where girls

have overworked at College. Those who stay at home very often do so; for if they have a taste for study they cultivate it along with their social and domestic tastes, and anything like healthy recreation or exercise becomes quite impossible.

The life at College is too methodical and quiet to harm anyone. Those who try to overwork generally see for themselves that it will not pay in the long run; and their friends and neighbours give them very little peace until they promise to reform in this respect, sometimes going to the lengths of forcibly carrying off their books, and threatening to take away their candles unless they promise to be in bed at a reasonable time.

One word as to the students themselves—if it is possible to make any general comment on such a constantly changing set. The new student need have no fears as to the reception she will meet on her first entry. No matter under what disadvantages she may "come up" she will receive a kindly and courteous welcome from the old students, and, at least until the first strangeness has worn off, will be looked after and have the fairest chances of being happy. If she has the sense and good taste to show a little deference to those who have been at College longer than herself (even when they are her juniors in age) she will never find any difficulty in getting on. It may be disagreeable to new students to see younger girls taking precedence of them; but it is a point of etiquette to which they ought to yield; and they ought to remember, too, that it requires some effort on the part of the "old students" to be very friendly to them all at once—especially when they seem to come in place of those who have gone down.

The charge oftenest brought against the "girl graduate" is that she is "gawky" and "has no manners": if this is true of some of them it may be accounted for by the fact that a good many of the younger ones pass straight from school to College without going much into society at the

age when other girls do. It is certainly not true of all girl-students: and they would not be recognised in a drawing-room by any special peculiarity, all the more because Oxford girls do not cling to the "sad æsthetic garb" with the same fondness as the Cambridge ones. The "typical blue-stocking," with her short hair and spectacles does appear from time to time; but she is not very common. At Oxford, at least, the "masculine" or fast girl has been so rare that it would be almost personal to allude to her at all. Indeed there is so little to attract her in the quiet life that she would probably be glad to get away at the end of one term if she could. The intercourse with the male members of the University is not extensive; but as long as she is with a chaperon approved by the Principal, the "girl-graduate" is allowed the ordinary liberty in this respect. If she knows men at Oxford and is asked to their rooms, she may go, subject to the above conditions.

It must be remembered that the characters of most girls are nearly formed by the time they are nineteen or twenty, so that the influences they meet at College affect them according to their individual dispositions, not by any fixed rule. The girl-students are certainly fond of their work; but they have no desire to kill themselves over it; and as certainly are they fond of play too. There is really no one type which could be selected and described so as to give a fair impression of the rest, because there are so many types, and they really differ so little in their main characteristics from the girls who stay at home and do not go to College at all.

K. M. G.

LIBRARY OF THE

Chapter IX.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION.

I. History.

THE phrase "University Extension" has undergone a gradual expansion of meaning. Fifty years ago it was adopted in Oxford as a general definition of their policy, by the group of influential graduates who desired to throw open the benefits of University education to certain classes of students at that time excluded from the University by religious tests or by the costly conditions of college life. This policy of University Extension slowly prevailed. Parliamentary enactment and internal reform removed the grievances which were most widely resented, and the Universities have become in a true sense national institutions. But the diffusion of education, the increase of wealth, and significant changes in public feeling have in the meantime developed a desire for University teaching among classes of persons to whose possible needs the original advocates of University Extension did not feel called upon to give serious thought. For the University education of women no proposal was made by them, and only one of their number publicly advocated the plan of extending University teaching to those poorer inhabitants of the great cities and manufacturing districts who are necessarily debarred from residence at a University by their daily avocations or narrow means.

This far-seeing man, whose sagacity has been justified by later developments, was William Sewell, at that time

Senior Tutor of Exeter College, and afterwards Warden of Radley. Since his time the needs, to which he was the first to give academic utterance, have become more urgent; and steps have been taken to meet them by the movement for University Extension in its new sense, that term now signifying the various efforts which the Universities are making to provide teaching in Oxford or elsewhere for the benefit of those students who are unable to matriculate as members of a University. Of the educational facilities which have been provided in Oxford for women who are able to undertake a prolonged course of residential study, an account is given in another chapter. The present writer is concerned with the extension of University teaching among those who can only hope to share in such of its benefits as can be brought within reach of their own homes, or enjoyed in Oxford within the narrow limits of an infrequent holiday.

Mr Sewell's plan was published in 1850. "Though it may be impossible," he wrote, "to bring the masses requiring education to the University, may it not be possible to carry the University to them?" To accomplish this end, he boldly proposed that, by way of experiment, the University should found professorships and lectureships at Manchester and Birmingham in the midst of the densest population of the manufacturing districts. "By degrees," he continued, "the system might be extended through the whole country, and similar institutions might be planted in the principal towns in convenient districts, such as Norwich, Exeter, Leeds, Canterbury, Newcastle, &c., Cambridge, of course, taking its due share of the work." Such a policy would, he urged, "extend the benefits of University instruction to the utmost possible limits by reducing its expense to the lowest point, for, wherever its institutions were planted, the immediate residents would be provided with the opportunity of completing the education of their sons without parting with them from under their own roof.

And," he concluded, "by originating such a comprehensive scheme, the Universities would become, as they ought to be, the great centres and springs of education throughout the country, and would command the sympathy and affection of the nation at large without sacrificing or compromising any principle which they are bound to maintain."

The scheme proposed by Mr Sewell had merits. He wished the Universities to endow a federation of local professoriates, each giving instruction under the direct authority of Oxford and Cambridge. But the plan was financially impracticable; Oxford and Cambridge could not afford the necessary outlay; and it was on this ground that, three years later, the University Commissioners snubbed the plan, without showing any perception of the sagacity of its author. It must be admitted, too, that Mr Sewell's scheme savoured of competition, as it was published after the announcement of Mr John Owens' bequest for the establishment of an unsectarian College in Manchester, one of the cities which the Oxford pamphleteer proposed as the scene of the earliest experiment in University Extension. But no similar objection could then have been urged against the maintenance by the University of a local professor at any of the other six cities which he named, selecting them with a prescience which is proved by the fact that three of the six have subsequently become the seats of local Colleges, while a fourth is to-day, with perhaps one exception, the most highly organised University Extension centre in England. It was not, however, merely a financial question which wrecked Mr Sewell's plan; University opinion was not ripe for it; nor was the Oxford of those days, cut off as it was by religious tests from one great stream of English life, a sufficiently national institution to lead a new departure in public education. Nothing could have been accomplished without local liberality and co-operation, neither of which was likely to be forthcoming from the great centres of nonconformity in the very heat

of their struggle against religious restrictions: to be asked to help Oxford in those days would have seemed to them like being invited to introduce their enemy into the heart of their own country. Nor at that time had the postal and railway systems accustomed men to schemes of widely associated enterprise in educational policy. Mr Sewell's plan was brilliant but premature. He had hit upon a fruitful idea, and University Extension may in the end take a form not unlike that which he proposed: but, before that end could be reached, there was need for fifty years' work in many other directions.

First of all, University tests had to be abolished; next, the University had to be induced to attempt to raise the standard of intermediate schools by establishing the system of local examinations. This important and successful step, the credit of which is chiefly due to Sir Thomas Acland and the present Bishop of London, marked the real beginning of a practical policy of University Extension. In its superintendence of local examinations, Oxford, and subsequently Cambridge, acknowledged, for the first time, their direct responsibility in wider departments of national education than those actually conducted within their own precincts. And in welcoming and aiding the new departure the country showed its readiness to recognise the Universities as natural leaders in educational reform.

But if Oxford and Cambridge could send out examiners into different parts of the country, and superintend their operations by means of a central office, why, it was natural to ask, should they not send out accredited teachers as well? The same machinery, with a few additions, would do the double work, and it was unreasonable to suppose that Universities, which were ready to send examiners to distant schools, would refuse on principle to send teachers to distant audiences of adult students. This view was urged at Cambridge in 1871 by Mr (then Professor) James Stuart, and his successful advocacy justly

entitles him to the honour of being regarded as the father of the present movement for University Extension. The idea that the Universities might accredit peripatetic lectures had occurred so early as 1855 to the present Bishop of Bath and Wells (Lord Arthur Hervey), who had then suggested, in a pamphlet published at Cambridge, that Mechanics' Institutes might be induced severally to purchase a part of the time of a staff of itinerant Professors, appointed by the Universities, and possibly subsidised by College fellowships. Lord Arthur had thus improved on Mr Sewell's original suggestion in two ways: he had proposed that the professors should be itinerant instead of stationary, and that the local institutions, profiting by their services, should contribute the whole, or at least part, of the necessary expense. But in 1855 the railway system was too undeveloped for the convenient adoption of any scheme involving constant itinerancy, while the local institutions were unprepared with the funds, and probably with the intellectual appetite, requisite to the success of the scheme. It was Mr Stuart's good fortune to revive the proposal at a time when all these difficulties had been removed.

The actual demand for peripatetic University teachers came in 1871 from the North of England Council for promoting the higher education of women. University Extension, therefore, took its present form and practical shape as part of the movement which has also led to the foundation of Girton and Newnham Colleges, and Somerville and Lady Margaret Halls. But the new system of University Extension was also adopted, largely through Mr Stuart's influence, by some of the working men's co-operative societies in the north, and subsequently by the more or less representative local committees which, from that time to this, have met the greater part of the cost, and chiefly ensured the success, of the University Extension system. For four years Cambridge carried forward the new movement alone, but in 1877 Mr Goschen's efforts led

to the formation of a University Extension Society in London, which, by an honourable understanding with the Universities, enjoys at present a monopoly within the Metropolitan district. Financially supported by public subscriptions, the London Society is strengthened by the educational guidance of a joint Universities' Board, the members of which are elected in three groups by Oxford, Cambridge, and London. In 1879 Oxford entered the field on its own account, and, though only pioneering work was done until the reconstitution of its system in 1885, its operations are now conducted on as large a scale as those of either the University of Cambridge or the London Society, with which it contends in a friendly emulation, prevented by constant intercommunication from degenerating into undesirable competition. It only remains to add that, since 1879, every University in England, and many of those in America and Australia, have adopted the University Extension system.

II. Method.

We live, as St Simon was fond of saying, in a century of organisation. In matters of government and industry, in religious and charitable enterprise, even in recreation and athletics, there is an impulse towards associated effort; a desire for the economy, the prestige, the mutual encouragement which is found in wisely ordered combination; a dislike of the weakness and ignorance which are apt to hamper isolated undertakings. It is to careful organisation that University Extension owes its continued success, and only by remaining adaptive and elastic can the system permanently retain its influence and popularity.

Many people justly think that a town would get more systematic teaching by engaging one University teacher to reside in it for a year or two than by spending an equivalent sum on a succession of lecturers, each delivering one of a series of short courses, which do not necessarily con-

stitute an orderly sequence of instruction. In other words, Mr Sewell's original scheme is ideally better than Mr Stuart's. But we have to cut our coat according to our cloth. The policy of University Extension is determined by the facts that, before University teaching can be permanently established among the educational institutions of an ordinary town, much preparatory work has to be done, and that this preparatory work must aim rather at stimulus than at satisfying in point of comprehensive thoroughness any rigid standard of the schools. Each separate course is thorough and systematic, but the successive courses are not woven into a chain of continuous and progressive instruction. Beginning, however, with brief instalments of University Extension teaching, a town gradually finds itself able to attain to something systematic and continuous. For we must remember that the organisers of University Extension are, to begin with, few in number at any centre; with the best will in the world, they cannot afford to venture at once on an elaborate programme. Public opinion has to be conciliated; the group of students to be recruited; the machinery of local organisation contrived and set in motion. For a scheme still unfamiliar, the local organisers cannot hope to raise in the first instance a permanent guarantee fund. They are bound to advance slowly, to take their courses one by one, and to conciliate by the variety of their programme the conflicting wishes of the various elements in their limited constituency of subscribers or guarantors. Hence the apparently capricious action of some younger local committees, and hence the want of sequence in what still forms the greater part of University Extension work. But things are mending: there is a steady drift in the direction of sequence of studies and of systematic instruction. Nothing, however, but time and patience can bring out the higher educational possibilities which are contained in the University Extension system. Meanwhile the problem *solvitur ambulando.*

It is from a knowledge of these local difficulties, which hamper the efforts of the most educationally-minded of their local Committees, that the Universities have deliberately abstained from exacting from them any very serious amount of sequence in the arrangement of courses. Such a policy might indeed have accelerated the voluntary efforts of some of the stronger local centres, but in by far the majority of cases it would have "quenched the smoking flax," and altogether destroyed University Extension in many of the smaller towns, which most need the educational facilities provided by it. Hence the whole method as at present adopted in the University Extension system is designed in such a way as to fit the needs of the weaker centres. It would be absurd to claim consideration for it as an ideal method of teaching or of organisation, but no one, who is acquainted with the conditions under which University Extension work is carried on, has any doubt as to its propriety and value under ordinary circumstances.

The method is briefly this. The University[1] appoints a Delegacy of graduates to carry into effect the statute empowering the arrangement of extension teaching. From the office of the Delegacy any applicant can obtain a catalogue of the accredited lecturers, and of the subjects on which they are prepared to give lectures. The various local Committees, voluntarily formed and now in existence in over two hundred towns, select from this list the lecturer and subject which they prefer, guarantee the cost of the lectures (which, with all incidental and local outgoings, cost from £4. 10s. to £7 apiece), and undertake the multitudinous arrangements which are necessary for the convenient delivery and success of the course. And in this connection cordial acknowledgment must be made of the energy, liberality, and hospitable kindness of the local organisers in every part of the country: they vie with one another in their considerate care for the lecturers who visit them.

[1] Oxford is here spoken of, but the details of the description apply with few exceptions, to Cambridge as well.

Before delivering his course, the lecturer draws up a "syllabus" or outline of its contents. This is one of the most valuable elements in the system; for the syllabus contains a list of standard books, and, consequently, serves as a guide to preparative or supplementary reading. It gives the audience from the first an idea of the scope of the course, and recalls the lectures when the course is over. Inexperienced students find the syllabus a guide to note-taking, while those who are properly regarding the lectures as an assistance to private reading are aided by the suggestions for essay-writing which it usually contains.

It is, therefore, to an audience already acquainted with the projected limits of the course, and in some measure prepared by previous reading, that the lecturer rises to deliver his first lecture. But his task is a difficult one; for, in order to succeed, he has to be scholarly, accurate, and popular. His audience is probably large, certainly composite, and he must so acquit himself as to satisfy the expectations of his best-informed hearers, while not failing to excite and retain the attention of those among them who are less cultivated. So great, indeed, are the difficulties of the situation, so accustomed have some extension audiences become to the skill of the most experienced lecturers, that it is impossible for any new beginner to meet with even passable success without possessing not only considerable knowledge of his subject, but some natural gift of public speech, and the patience to prepare both diction and argument.

After his lecture, however, the teacher's work is not done: as many of his hearers as wish to do so remain for the "class," the element in extension teaching which tries to reproduce the more tutorial and personal side of instruction. In conducting the "class," a shy, awkward lecturer makes his audience uncomfortable, and is a failure; for his hearers are self-conscious, and shrink from asking him questions, while he himself does not possess the power of setting them at their ease, and of

starting the pleasant interchange of inquiry, criticism, and suggestion which, when once established, makes the "class" both entertaining and intellectually profitable. But, in the hands of an experienced and successful lecturer, the "class" becomes one of the most useful features of the extension system. Even at the best, however, it is only a poor substitute for the tutorial intercourse between pupil and teacher. There are too many people present for the shy student to come forward, even if the teacher had time for attention to individuals: the class, moreover, is held when the lecturer is already tired with the effort of lecturing, and often in the foul air of a crowded lecture-room; and it occasionally degenerates into a sort of "heckling," or takes the form of a series of disquisitions more or less supplementary to the lecture. At its best, the "class" is admirable; at its worst, it is almost useless. Mr Stuart invented it by accident, and it has been continued, partly by convention, partly because it contains elements of usefulness which cannot be spared or at present secured otherwise. It will probably change its form as soon as the peripatetic lecturers stay more than one day in each town; for then the "class" will break up into sections, taken privately and in turn by the teacher, and usually at some other time than immediately after or before a public lecture.

In one respect, however, the "class" after the lecture is invariably useful. It provides an opportunity for the lecturer to give out the subjects on which students are invited to send him written essays before his next visit. A varying proportion of the audience write these essays; sometimes a lecturer receives sixty, while other centres may only send him six. The actual number of essays depends rather on the occupation than on the intelligence of the audience. But many of the essays thus sent in reach a very high level of excellence. In their composition the students are greatly aided by the "travelling libraries" of standard books which are sent to each centre in illustration

of the current course of lectures. These small libraries of thirty or forty volumes were originated at Oxford, and have since been introduced into the Cambridge and American systems: they are specially useful in the small centres which often have no public library, but will doubtless be ultimately superseded at the stronger centres by permanent local collections formed by the local committees.

Finally, when the lecturer has given his six, ten, twelve, or twenty-four weekly or fortnightly lectures (for the courses are of varying, though usually of the shorter, duration), an optional examination is held on the subject-matter of the whole course. The examiner, who is never the same as the lecturer, is appointed by the University authorities, and on his report the successful candidates receive certificates, either of "pass" or "distinction." The standard of the certificate is kept high—a pass certificate is given for work which reaches the level expected in the paper of a candidate in the Oxford Pass Final Schools: the certificate of "distinction" is reserved for those whose work is of the quality required, in his terminal College examination, from a student reading for honours. The examiners, however, report that many candidates do work which would be regarded as reaching the level of the second, or even the first, class in the Final Honours Schools of the University. But it must be remembered that, while an extension student is confronted with only one examination paper, an undergraduate in an Honours School has to do ten or twelve in succession. The best candidate in each extension examination receives a prize.

Such, in outline, is the present method of extension teaching. It does well for its purpose: it is the best that can be managed under the ordinary circumstances of peripatetic instruction: it has produced excellent results, and in the less highly organised centres it will doubtless hold its ground. But, as the stronger centres develop, gradual changes will become necessary and possible; for the

present system encourages scrappiness of study; and superficial people are not sufficiently disciplined by it. Moreover, the incessant journeyings of the lecturers are fatiguing and costly; they not only try the physique of the staff, but make their services disproportionately expensive to the centres. And the fact that their employment depends on the somewhat fickle choice of the local audiences, makes the occupation of an extension teacher financially uncertain, for all but a limited number of very popular lecturers. A good deal has already been done to remove these objections to the system: the offer of higher certificates of systematic study encourages sequence of courses: the formation of district federations of centres is designed to encourage in each locality concerted action in the choice of lecturers. Two Oxford Colleges have given fellowships to leading lecturers as the nucleus of an assured income: and a considerable sum of money has been privately subscribed as a reserve fund for the aid of lecturers temporarily disabled by illness. Above all, at the Summer Meeting, which is held at Oxford in August, an example of orderly sequence of study is set by the arrangement of the several groups of lectures in cycles extending over three or four years. But the improvement of the system, though already discernible, must be gradual, for its defects arise from the local conditions of the work which can only be amended by patient labour and persevering effort on the part of the lecturers and local organisers. It is clear that an educational movement, which depends on the sympathy and contributions of large numbers of people in each locality, cannot develop itself far beyond the limits of intellectual interest commonly prevailing among the more studiously minded people in the districts where it seeks to hold a permanent place. The steady growth of such intellectual interest is at once the chief justification for University Extension, and the happiest augury for its more assured and useful future.

III. Results.

Abundant testimony is forthcoming to prove the benefit which individual students have derived from University extension. The character of the audiences significantly indicates the growing interest in intellectual matters: the ordinary centre produces an audience of about a hundred persons singularly representative of almost all classes in the community; women predominate, largely in some audiences, slightly in the whole movement. At the majority of centres, mechanics and labourers are thinly, if at all, represented; but in certain towns in the North of England, artizans not only form the bulk of the audience, but themselves arrange the lectures, and, out of the educational funds of their Co-operative Societies, defray the whole of their expense. At Oldham, for example, the annual course at the Industrial Co-operative Society is regularly attended by 600 workmen. In the judgment of those best informed on the subject, there will be in a few years a great increase of artizan centres. In the winter of 1891-2, over 8000 workmen attended the lectures out of a carefully recorded aggregate of 27,900 hearers. But this number was due to special causes which are unlikely to occur again at present; and the normal attendance of workmen in any one winter is probably 5000 out of 25,000.

Of those who attend the lectures, about one-twelfth enter for the examinations. As, however, many of the best students do not enter for the examinations, partly on account of their age and unwillingness to compete with younger people, partly because they have lost or never acquired the knack of doing themselves credit in examination, it may be estimated that about one-third of each audience consists of persons who are seriously studying under the guidance of the lecturer the subject treated by him in the course. The remainder derive stimulus from the lectures, and the results of such stimulus, even when not defined by any subsequent study, are none the

less valuable if they establish in a community a feeling of respect for learning, and a desire for better educational opportunities for the rising generation.

Elementary teachers, again, form an important element in Extension audiences. "To teach the teachers" has always been regarded as one of the highest functions of a University, and improved communications have enabled the Universities through the Extension system indefinitely to widen their influence in this respect. Fifteen English County Councils have already availed themselves of the University Extension system, chiefly with a view to improving the scientific education of the elementary teachers in the villages; and their large grants out of the Technical Instruction Fund are not likely to be the last form of public aid which University Extension will receive.

A large number of influential people are of opinion that the Treasury grant for University Colleges should be enlarged for the purpose of assisting systematic University Extension work in towns which are unable to afford the expense of a wholly resident professoriate. The University Colleges already in receipt of that grant obtained it partly in consequence of representations which dwelt on the fact that their limited funds debarred them not only from many internal improvements, but from adequately undertaking Extension work in neighbouring districts. There seems, therefore, every reason to expect the future allocation of an extension of this important grant to struggling institutions which are attempting to do part of the work of a University College in towns where no such College can at present be established. It is, moreover, understood that the Education Department is about to recognise, as a mark-earning qualification in the most important examination of pupil-teachers, the possession of University Extension certificates in certain subjects, a step which was recently urged on the Department by a unanimous vote of the late House of Commons.

From this new arrangement, backed as it is by the sympathetic approval of the Department, it is reasonable to expect that important results will follow, both in regard to the lengthening of the course of instruction, and to the financial stability of the local Committees.

Another important result of the University Extension movement is the establishment of the Summer Meeting. For some years, an association of elementary teachers have come to Oxford in July and August for a quiet period of vacation study, but it was not until 1887 that advantage was taken on behalf of the extension students of the halls and lecture-rooms which lie unused in the depths of the long vacation. Nothing could have been done on an extensive scale without the use of the spacious Examination Schools of the University, or without the numerous promises of attendance received from extension students in every part of England. For five years the Summer Meeting has been annually repeated, and it has now become an institution.

Though the element of recreation is wisely not excluded from what, after all, is necessarily a holiday course, a large amount of solid and profitable work is done by a large proportion of the students. In fact, the chief objection, if there be one, to the Summer Meeting lies in the charge, not of dissipation, but of overstrain to already hard-worked teachers. About 1100 persons annually attend the Meeting; of these about 350 stay four weeks, the remainder from ten days to a fortnight: the latter period is technically known as the "First Part;" it begins at the commencement of the school holidays, and is followed by the longer "Second Part," with quieter study and longer courses. But the programme of each year's lectures is homogeneous: each meeting is now chiefly devoted to the study of one great period; the numerous lecturers, who include not only University Extension teachers, but College tutors and writers of distinguished eminence, combine to elucidate the historical, literary, artistic, and economic significance of the period under

review. In 1891, for example, the sequence of lectures on the Mediæval period embraced one hundred lectures; that of 1892, dealing with the Renaissance and Reformation, included as many more, among the lecturers being Mr J. Addington Symonds, Professor Dowden, Mr T. Graham Jackson, A.R.A., Dr Fitch, and Mr Walter Pater. These sequences of historical study, moreover, which are completed in a cycle extending over four years, are supplemented by alternative courses for practical work in chemistry, botany, geology, and biology, by lectures on theology, and by classes for the study of economic science, of Greek language and literature, and of pedagogical subjects.

It has been found that the Summer Meeting has greatly strengthened the Extension system, partly by affording opportunities for conference and discussion on points of policy and organisation, partly by acquainting the local organisers with the lecturers on the staff, but chiefly by deepening the personal tie which it is desired to form between the scattered units of the Extension movement and the University itself. And the success of the meeting has already led to gratifying developments, as, for example, to the Mansfield Summer School of Theology, the first session of which, in July 1892, was attended by 350 ministers of all denominations.

As the Extension system spreads, it attracts a growing stream of benefactions. In 1892, Mr T. Dixon Galpin presented to the County Council of Dorset a sum of £1000, the interest of which is to be expended in sending poor scholars from that county to the Summer Meetings at Oxford and Cambridge,—the latter a more recent institution, designed on the same lines as its Oxford prototype, but, from want of accommodation, necessarily on a smaller scale. To the income of this benefaction the Dorset Council has added £60 for the present year, while five other County Councils have sent in all over one hundred scholars to the Oxford Summer Meeting of 1892. During

the last five years more than £4000 has been presented by private donors to the Oxford delegates for various purposes (scholarships, travelling libraries, &c.) connected with their work, while in the spring of 1892, the example of Balliol College, which elected the senior lecturer (Mr Hudson Shaw) to a fellowship in 1889, in recognition of his services to University Extension, has been more than followed by Christ Church. The latter College has endowed the Extension movement in a manner which will strengthen it on its weakest side, and which seems likely to establish a precedent of far-reaching importance: for, having elected one of the leading Extension lecturers (Mr Mackinder) to a studentship, the governing body of Christ Church offered his services to Reading, as the oldest University Extension centre in the Oxford district, with a view to deepening and systematising Extension teaching at that centre. The leading inhabitants of Reading have cordially responded to the liberal intention of Christ Church: the local University Extension committee and the directorate of the Science and Art Schools have been formed into one body, and Mr Mackinder is now the principal of the Reading University Extension College. Generous promises have already secured the adequate maintenance of the new institution, which will thus in future provide for the adult students of Reading systematic instruction in History, Literature, Natural Science, and other subjects. Reading will now become the laboratory of the University Extension movement: experiments, impossible elsewhere, will be tried there: practical training can be given there to the junior lecturers. And in many other ways it is hoped that the University Extension College at Reading will not only show what University Extension can accomplish under favourable conditions, but will so influence and encourage the local organisers at a number of other centres that the far-seeing generosity of Christ Church may be the cause of not less important advances in the future.

IV. Future Aims.

It is now possible to indicate the aims of those who are interested in the future development of University Extension work, and, though what follows does not claim to be more than the expression of an individual opinion, the writer believes that many others share with him the hopes which are here expressed.

The supporters of University Extension consider Higher Education to be a benefit, the appreciation of which is not confined to the somewhat limited number of persons who have means and leisure for a University training at Oxford and Cambridge; that it is the duty of the community to bring this benefit of Higher Education within the reach of those adults in every class who have the intellectual aptitude to profit by it; that, although eventually the higher education of adult students—a department of national education which includes the education of citizens—will be aided by the State, a beginning must be made by voluntary and individual effort; that such effort is worthy to be commended to the public mind by the authoritative patronage of the Universities; and that the Universities, in taking the lead in this new work, are only doing what is incumbent on all national institutions, namely, adapting and extending their own special means of usefulness to the changing needs of a new era. It is further argued, in reply to obvious objections, that, in giving their approval to a necessarily imperfect undertaking, the Universities will not compromise the reputation of their own internal instruction, but that the example and influence of the latter will insensibly raise the standard of the extra-mural teaching, to the first beginnings of which, in the confident hope of its future development, they are asked to give what no other institutions can equally give, encouragement and prestige: and that, so far from endangering the apparatus and endowments of research, the interests of which the Universities are bound to consider no

less than those of teaching, any successful effort to interest the public in the results of learning will inspire it with a new zeal for the protection of the various processes by which those results are produced.

The public provision of facilities for the higher education of citizens cannot be far distant; but it is desirable that such a national system should grow naturally out of preceding voluntary effort. Without such preliminary experiment, the national system would probably fail to meet many of the real needs of those for whose benefit it would be designed. And the most perfect machinery in the world would not alone provide a worthy education for citizens; the system must be inspired with enthusiasm, with *esprit-de-corps*. And these are the forces which are being generated by the University Extension system, in preparation for the time when larger recognition shall be given to the educational needs of men and women who are fired with intellectual aspirations, but are not free to go far from their daily work. Moreover, no national system of Higher Education for adults will succeed unless the constituency of students has been prepared for it. To gather such students together; to acquaint the natural leaders of educational opinion in each locality with the practical needs and the practical limitations of such adult students; to develop public opinion on the subject of such education, of the need there is for it, of the topics with which it should deal, and of the methods which it should employ; to form in each town a garrison, as it were, of educational reformers who will maintain the new system when it is established; these are at present some of the chief functions of University Extension.

It is clear then that one of the aims must be persistent propaganda, especially among workmen, and, to a certain extent, in villages. And, just as the desire for higher teaching must be stimulated among adults in places and in ranks where it is still but feebly felt, so in districts where

such teaching is already established, its operations must be extended and improved. Groups of small towns must be encouraged to co-operate in the maintenance of a small staff of teachers, whose services would be divided among the three or four communities contributing to their support. Guided by an experienced man as its Principal, the educational influence of such a federal College might be very great. In large centres of population, Extension work might be developed by the establishment of a University Extension College, like that at Reading, manned by teachers, some of whom would give all, others only part, of their time to the institution. Such a College, equipped with lecture-rooms and laboratories, would become an object of local pride, would receive aid from local benefactors as well as subsidies from public educational funds, and, if established on a permanent basis, might under existing statutes, be affiliated to Oxford or Cambridge, one of the Colleges of which, following the example of Christ Church, might form a special tie between itself and the new institution. Our Colleges already have religious missions: why should they not have educational missions as well? To foster a local University Extension College in its early days would be a natural means of discharging some of the duties which our Oxford and Cambridge Colleges owe to the towns and districts in which they hold landed property, and which their founders sought to fulfil by drawing the members of their foundations from certain districts.

Another aim of those who are interested in University Extension is the development of the Summer Meeting. Its present form is regarded by no one as final: financial, among other, reasons, have made it necessary to appeal to the general public, in order that the large aggregate of necessarily small individual subscriptions may meet the expense of the various courses of instruction; for the number of real students who can attend a Summer Meeting in any one year is not yet sufficiently great to

enable courses of lectures, in any way comparable in completeness to those now provided at the Oxford Summer Meeting, to be furnished for them alone, as the poverty of many of the students forbids any material increase in the tuition fees. Every year, however, there are signs of a growing desire for a larger number of concurrent courses of more or less advanced instruction; thirty students, for example, have this year entered for a somewhat severe course of instruction in Biology, attendance at which for the last three weeks in August will practically preclude them from entering for any of the other highly-organised courses during the same period. It is probable therefore that, as the attainments of the Extension students increase, the Summer Meeting will gradually break up into a number of groups of courses, practically separate from one another, and attended by different sets of students, who will meet, not as at present in the crowded lecture-rooms, but in the conferences or excursions which provide the more recreative side of the Summer Meeting.

The advancing attainments of the Extension students will, however, emphasise, sooner or later, another demand. Extension students will want degrees. Now, it is clearly undesirable that the same degree should be given to students who have regularly "resided" in the University before their examinations and to those who, though possibly passing as arduous an examination, have not in the technical sense "resided" at all. The valid reason for maintaining this distinction is not the protection of privilege, but the recognition of the fact that the benefit which the average man gets from his University life largely consists, not in the process of passing, or even preparing for, examinations, but in the social experience he gains, in the effect on his mind of the traditions, the habits, the spirit of the place, in the undefinable influence of its history, its society, its point of view. We do not wish to mix our brands. Not that each brand may not be good of its kind, but for public

convenience, as well as for the sake of historic continuity, they should be kept separate. How, then, is the Extension demand to be met? There is a way round the difficulty, and a way through it; the latter is preferable, but the former should be stated. It is as follows:—The summer term is already extended to the beginning of August. Let it be annually extended till the middle of September. Allow any Extension student who matriculates (I speak only of men students) to "keep a term," by attending organised courses in Oxford during the weeks between August 1 and September 12; this would coincide with a longish summer holiday. Abolish the custom of reckoning our present summer term as two; and require nine terms, each of six weeks' residence, as the statutory qualification for a degree, thus enabling any Extension student, who could pass the ordinary University examinations, to qualify for his degree of B.A. by studying at Oxford during nine summer holidays. The objections to this plan are—*first*, that it would help only a limited number of *men* (hardly any clerks, and practically no mechanics, for example, could get nine successive summer holidays, each of six weeks' duration); *second*, that, under existing conditions, it would help no *women*, as, however long they reside, and however many examinations they pass, they may not take a degree at Oxford; *third*, that, unless there is a great change in the circumstances of University residence, a man who only came to Oxford for August and part of September would miss much that is most characteristic in the academic life of the place; *fourth*, that if this objection were removed by the Long Vacation term becoming as normal a feature in undergraduate life as any one of the present terms, the change would involve either a large increase in the University and College staffs, or intolerable overstrain to the present tutors and officials, who would hardly get any rest, much less leisure for private study, during the year.

Therefore, it seems necessary to find some other means

of meeting the difficulty. That University Extension students will eventually ask for degrees may be regarded as certain; and if they show themselves able to acquit themselves with credit in any prescribed examination, why should not they? It would be impolitic as well as ungracious to insist that Extension students, who had got all their teaching from Oxford men in University Extension Colleges, accredited by Oxford, and affiliated to it by statutory ties, and by the stronger bond of personal association and gratitude, should seek their degrees at some other University. Moreover, with the one exception of the present London University, all the English Universities will probably find the same difficulty in meeting the same demand from the various Extension Colleges connected with themselves. Will not the best road out of the common difficulty be found in co-operation? A joint Universities Board, the type of which is already contained in the constitution of the London University Extension Society, might be formed to award a new degree, B.A. Univ. Ext., to University Extension students who, after undertaking a prescribed course of study at a recognised University Extension College, should have passed the examination required by the Board. By such a plan, no University would be individually responsible for the degree: the B.A. Univ. Ext. could therefore be confounded with no degree given by Oxford, Cambridge, London, Durham, or Victoria alone. At the same time, those Universities, having the appointment and the degree-giving powers of the new joint Board under their own control, could effectually prevent any lowering of the standard in the case of the new degree.

V. Needs.

It remains to mention the directions in which the University Extension system needs pecuniary help in order to bring about a greater system and sequence in the local

courses. In the local centres there is need for larger funds, but the Technical Institution grants have already done a great deal for the movement, and will do more as soon as the County Councils are empowered to spend the money on Secondary Education without limitation of subject. But the chief need of some local committees is enterprise: this is partly due to their being short of money; they dare not venture on large and costly operations. And, because they do not so venture, they fail to receive large local benefactions: their efforts seem to benefactors hardly worth helping on a large scale: did they venture more, the local Committees would receive more; for money comes where money is.

But their chief want is energetic men with leisure enough to build up a new local institution. They have to rely too much on the spare minutes of already busy people. In this need Oxford can help them: if a few other Colleges would do as Christ Church has done, and elect suitable men to fellowships, with the intention that the Fellow so elected should systematise Extension teaching in one centre, four or five University Extension Colleges might be established in a twelvemonth. The ground is prepared; it is the organiser who is wanted; and it is generally better for him to come from outside. There are obvious reasons why a resident is often able to do less in co-ordinating educational work in his own town than one who comes in unhampered by ties of local association or friendship. For a comparatively small outlay, an Oxford College could provide a town with the services of a man whose work might result in the foundation of a new institution, in the co-ordination of needlessly overlapping local agencies, and in generous contributions by local benefactors to the cause of higher education. All that is wanted is that the Colleges should give the towns a lead. But, obviously, the towns so to be helped should not be chosen at haphazard, as, unless the ground has been well

prepared by a long series of Extension and other courses, it would be difficult to persuade the residents to regard the establishment of a College as either possible or advantageous.

Next, there is need for a fund to be expended by the University authorities in propaganda. The economical management of the whole system depends on the centres working together, and on their being fairly close together. The first object can only be achieved by careful negotiation and frequent visits on the part of some representative of the Delegates; for local jealousy is the cause of much friction which correspondence alone cannot remove. The second object, the increase of centres in a given area, can be most easily accomplished by sending an experienced lecturer on a missionary tour. Such an expedition was recently made possible in Dorset by another act of liberality on the part of Mr T. Dixon Galpin: but the Delegates have no funds out of which to meet the expense of similar, though equally desirable, undertakings.

Further, there is need for funds in order to maintain one or two travelling inspectors, whose duty it would be to visit the centres regularly, to watch the progress of the work, to report to the Delegates on the success or failure of the courses, to suggest remedies, and out of their varied experience to advise local Committees on difficult points of local organisation. The University Extension system needs inspectors nearly as much as the Education Department. Possibly, when the State organises Secondary Education, it may place part of the time of one or two of its inspectors at the disposal of the Universities for use in Extension work.

Again, there is need for three or four exhibitions or senior scholarships, to maintain young graduates during their training as Extension lecturers, or during their first year of service. It is natural that the services of new beginners are not sought after by the local Committees as

much as those of the experienced lecturers. The fear of a preliminary period of non-employment deters many suitable men from undertaking Extension work; but, by means of a small scholarship, such men would often be enabled to wait until invitations began to come from the local committees. As, however, the list of lecturers is at present congested, this need is not immediately urgent, though it is sure again to become so.

Finally, we need a University Extension House in Oxford. This would become the headquarters of our work, the success of which depends not on mere organisation, but, like a College, on the friendly co-operation of its staff. The University Extension lecturers are, in fact, a College staff without any headquarters or common meeting-place. A University Extension House should also contain provision for the accommodation of local organisers, whose visits to Oxford should in every way be encouraged as strengthening the intimacy between the central authority and its local dependencies. The House would also serve a useful purpose in facilitating the training of young lecturers, who would thus be in the way of meeting their senior colleagues, of making acquaintance with the representatives of the local Committees, and of catching the spirit of the work.

M. E. SADLER.

[*Note.*—All information about the Oxford University Extension, regulations for the appointment of lecturers, &c., can be obtained on application to the Secretary, University Extension Office, Examination Schools, Oxford. There are two Magazines published in connection with the work—*The Oxford University Extension Gazette* (Oxford: University Press, monthly, 1d.), and *The University Extension Journal* (Charter House, E.C., monthly, except in the

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